

VASSAR MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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VASSAR MEDIÆVAL STUDIES

BY MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY
OF VASSAR COLLEGE

EDITED BY
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IN MEMORY OF
GEORGE E. DIMOCK

THERE is no relationship in modern life of which it is so true that "the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life," as that of the college trustee. Never has the vitalizing spirit been more in evidence than in the relations of George E. Dimock to Vassar College, which he served in such capacity from 1903 to 1919. He was chairman of the Executive Committee of its Board of Trustees from 1915 to 1919, was member of the Committee on Library and held other important offices. So far as the records of Vassar College show, he was never absent from a committee meeting. No action was ever taken at such a meeting which did not have his unremitting attention and find lodgment at the moment within his ready notebook. But his service was far from being merely formal attendance at meetings and attention to business. He gave unsparingly out of his experience and knowledge, and the whole body of alumnae, many of them connected with him by personal ties, felt that he was their true friend and counselor.

Of the many memories of Mr. Dimock which survive on the campus, none is so vivid as that which has prompted the preparation of this volume. His great interest in the Library and its collections, his aid to the exhibition of early books and manuscripts, and particularly his encouragement of scholarship among members of the faculty, have suggested to us a memorial volume of mediæval studies. At the Fiftieth Anniversary of Vassar College a series of volumes of research was written by professors, which Mr. Dimock was instrumental in publishing. It is hoped that readers of these volumes will accept this offering as, in effect, the closing volume of that series, honoring the man who gave himself generously to the service of the college, and who whole-heartedly believed in and encouraged the development of research by the teaching body of Vassar.

It is a particularly happy circumstance that the Yale University Press coöperates with Vassar in the publication of the book, since Mr. Dimock was not only an alumnus of Yale but was connected with the University by many other ties.

HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN

FOREWORD

THIS volume of Mediæval Studies is the result of a suggestion made by President MacCracken one evening when a small group of the faculty whose specialized interest is, at least in part, centered in the Middle Ages, were gathered at his house. Of various principles of procedure informally discussed that night, the most interesting sprang from the suggestion that we make the book the subject of as wide coöperation as possible. As a result of this policy, the editor has had many an illuminating talk with various colleagues whose work, while primarily in classical or in modern fields, is in certain aspects of it closely connected with the period here dealt with. Among these some persons, tracking origin or tracing influence, have been led into so sensitive and intimate a threading of certain of the mazes of things mediæval that they can justly be considered as possessing, along these particular lines, specialized knowledge of mediæval life. They have coöperated with us; and we thus have a book somewhat widely representative of outlook upon the Middle Ages, including, for instance, such articles as *A Mediæval Humanist: Michael Akominatos* by Professor Thallon, whose classical scholarship lends illuminating significance to a mediæval figure; *The Burning of Books* by Professor Brown, whose work on the History of Tolerance has naturally enabled her to speak with authority on mediæval "censorship" of books; and *Polynesian Analogues to the Celtic Otherworld and Fairy Mistress Themes* by Professor Beckwith, whose investigations of folk-beliefs and superstitions among living peoples still in a primitive stage of civilization interestingly reinforces Pro-

fessor Loomis's article on *Arthur in Avalon and the Banshee*. As a result of this coöperative policy, we have represented in the book the departments of English, French, German, Folk Lore, History, Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Art, Music. The articles range in interest from those dealing with suggestion or discussion of literary sources out into various fields of mediæval experience; their sequence involves the carrying of the reader's mind from folk-lore and folk-life on through aristocratic social and religious ideal or convention into the fields of scholarship and art. The suggestions springing from such a series of studies must naturally be many and varied; and yet because we have really been collaborating our book is, we trust, truly *a book*; possesses, that is, a very real continuity of thought and suggestion that fuses its miscellaneous elements into genuine unity.

The contributors to *Vassar Mediæval Studies* desire to express in this place their genuine sorrow at the death, last year, of Gertrude Schoepperle Loomis. Our group joins with other groups of scholars both in this country and abroad who deeply appreciate and deplore the loss to Letters of her sound and brilliant scholarship.

The Editor here takes occasion to acknowledge her indebtedness to her very efficient Editorial Committee, consisting of Professors Brown, Coulter, Peebles, Sandison, Smith, Tonks and Miss Underhill. She would particularly emphasize her obligation to Professor Coulter and Professor Sandison, who especially have shared with her editorial responsibility. We greatly regret the absence from the book of President MacCracken's linguistic restoration of *The Kingis Quair* which pressure of administrative duties prevented his completing. We wish to thank him for the suggestion giving rise to the book, and for his work as chairman of the Business Committee.

CHRISTABEL FORSYTH FISKE

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ARTHUR IN AVALON AND THE
BANSHEE



BY GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE

(MRS. ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS)

ARTHUR IN AVALON AND THE BANSHEE

GEOFFREY of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, written about 1136, attaches to Arthur's death the intriguing suggestion of mystery which throughout the following centuries has constituted much of the charm of his story: *sed et inclytus ille Arturus rex letaliter vulneratus est, qui illinc ad sananda vulnera sua in insulam Avallonis advectus*.¹ It has been thought that this tradition owes its origin to the national aspirations of the Welsh and Cornish, who throughout the Middle Ages dreamed of a deliverer who should free them from the yoke of foreign rule.² Similarly for centuries a broken and divided Germany cherished the hope of the return of its great Emperor Barbarossa, and in royalist France Louis Philippe thought it worth while to bring the bones of Bonaparte from St. Helena to silence the story that Napoleon would return. Even so recent a death as Kitchener's was never fully accepted so long as British sovereignty on the seas was endangered. Such legends are the expression of a universal human instinct

to hope till Hope creates
From its own wreck the thing it contemplates.

But there are indications in the history of the tradition of Arthur as it has come down to us that the story of his sojourn in Avalon did not originate in national aspirations, or in the cautious invention of pseudo-historians,

¹ Bk. XI, ch. 2, p. 157.

² "The legend that he was not really dead doubtless grew up about him just as similar legends in various forms afterward grew up about Frederick Barbarossa and Napoleon Bonaparte." *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, p. 298.

but, together with certain other incidents in his life, is a remnant of Celtic story older than any of his serried battle-ranks and continental conquests. It is this that the following study attempts to establish.

In order to understand more completely how Arthur's passing to Avalon was thought of in the Middle Ages, it is desirable to pass in review not only the successive accounts of his death, but also the accounts of his birth. We shall then compare them with certain Celtic legends. As we do so, we shall perceive more clearly that both in birth and in death there plays around the figure of Arthur the silver flame that betrays the god.

To provide Arthur with a birth-story adapted to the social conventions of the twelfth century, Geoffrey had introduced among the kings of Britain a personage called Uther. Of this Uther neither the name nor the rôle appears among the rulers of the island in previous histories. But he conveniently fills the gap in Nennius's narrative between Aurelius Ambrosius and Arthur. How are we to account for his appearance? In the manuscript of Nennius's history at Cambridge University Library, Ff. I, 27, the sentence *sed ipse dux erat bellorum* is followed by the observation *et in omnibus bellis victor exsistit. Mab Uter Britannice, filius horribilis Latine quoniam a puericia sua crudelis fuit.*³ " 'Mab Uter' he was called in the British tongue, which means 'terrible youth' in Latin; for he was fierce from his boyhood."

Now the Welsh word *mab*, like the Irish word *mac* and the Latin *filius*, is used more frequently in the sense of "youth" than of "son," but Geoffrey or one of his predecessors may have taken the gloss *mab uter* as "son of Uther," thinking that Uther was a proper name. Dozens of other mediæval personages owe their existence to similar misunderstandings, some of them no doubt intentional.⁴ A confusion of this kind also took place in regard to numerous other Celtic heroes, among them the Irish

³ *Historia Britonum*, p. 199, n. 1.

⁴ Delehaye, *Légendes*, tr. Crawford, pp. 78-87.

Cuchulainn who, originally of marvelous birth, is represented in some texts as the "son of Soalta" (or Sual-tain), the phrase *mac soalte*, "well-nurtured son," having been taken as *mac Soalte*.⁵

Having provided a king of Britain to be Arthur's father, Geoffrey is now ready to relate the story of his begetting.

This King Uther of Britain is consumed with love for the wife of his vassal, the Duke of Cornwall. The Duke, suspecting the King's passion, has placed her in his strong castle of Tintagel. Uther asks counsel of his familiars as to how to gain access to her and is advised to seek the aid of the magician Merlin. When Merlin hears of the sore suffering of the King, he promises to obtain for him the fulfilment of his desire. He will give him the semblance of the Duke that he may approach the woman he loves in her husband's form. Thus Uther comes to Tintagel at the hour of dusk; the porter opens to him without question, and that night the King lies with Igerne.⁶

The begetting of Arthur is thus attributed to a mighty stranger, who, through magical arts and under a disguise (familiar substitutes in pseudo-history for divine powers), gains access to a virtuous woman and makes her pregnant.

The narrative is similar to the story of Jupiter and Alcmena, except that in Geoffrey, the stranger, having once usurped the bed of his subordinate, retains it and marries her, the author thus bending the story to the exigencies of the proprieties at the slight cost of making away with the first husband. Such a remarkable conception is almost always part of the birth-story of a hero. The god may come as an eagle or a dove, as a bull or a swan, or in a shower of gold. The story of the begetting of Cuchulainn,⁷ to whom we have already alluded, is a similar tale of marvels. The god Lugh transports the

⁵ K. Meyer, *Miscellanea Hibernica*, pp. 9-11.

⁶ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, bk. VIII, ch. XIX.

⁷ *Compert Conculaind*. Cf. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 89.

sister of King Conchobar and her maidens to his fairy realms, and during her sojourn there she gives birth to the hero. The child is sent back from the Otherworld to be reared among mortals. But contemporaneously with this story of his begetting by a divinity, the epithet "son of Sualtaim" gives him a father that puts less strain upon the reader's faith in the supernatural.

The transmission of the story of the begetting of King Conaire in the Old Irish text *Togail Bruidne Dá Derga*^s offers interesting similarities to the transmission of the Arthur story.

It has been prophesied by his wizards to Eterscel, King of Tara, that a woman of unknown race shall bear him a son. Now in the calf-shed of his cowherds a maiden is being fostered whose mother is of the fairies. Her father, King Cormac of Ulaid, had ordered her to be slain. But the thralls that had taken her to the pit had been touched with mercy and had spared and concealed her.

A fenced house of wicker-work was made by them for her, without any door, but only a window and a skylight. King Eterscel's folk espy that house and suppose that it was food that the cowherds kept there. But one of them went and looked through the skylight, and he saw in the house a maiden passing fair and lovely. This is told to the king, and straightway he sends his people to break the house and carry her off without asking the cowherds.

But before there is time for his behest to be carried out a strange thing happens.

While she was there the next morning, she saw a bird on the skylight coming to her, and he left his birdskin on the floor of the house, and went to her and captured her, and said: "They are coming to thee from the king to wreck thy house and bring thee to him perforce. And thou wilt be pregnant by me and bear a son and that son must not kill birds. And Conaire, son of Mess Buachalla, shall be his name."

The story-teller who composed this version of Co-

^s *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 99.

naire's birth, is trying to do the same thing as the Arthurian chroniclers. He wishes to make the child the son of the lawful king, the rightful heir in the eyes of an audience that prizes legitimacy. And yet he is even less prepared than they to sacrifice the old tale of the hero's mysterious begetting by a hero from afar. He meets the difficulty by superimposing the new features upon the old. After having related the visit of the bird-god he continues with a serene disregard of consistency:

And then she was brought to the King, and with her went her fosterers, and she was betrothed to the King, and he gave her seven *cumals*, and to her fosterers seven *cumals* (her bride-price). And she bore a son to the King, even Conaire, son of Mess Buachalla (the cowherds' fosterchild). And these were her three urgent prayers to the King, to wit, the nursing of her son among three households.

When, later, the youth claims the throne, he claims it, according to the same version, "*by right of father and grandsire.*" In one version of the tale, the *Dindsenchas of Rath Essa*, the story is so far rationalized that Conaire is allied to the fairy-world only through his great-grandmother.⁹ In another, the *De Shíl Chonairi Móir*, no indication whatever remains of fairy origin. There were thus in Ireland, as in France and England, in the twelfth century, authors that catered to romantic individuals who thought rather more of a hero because of a somewhat unconventional paternity, and other authors that played up to the more sober and matter-of-fact, who were bothered by any flaws in the succession, and perhaps even entertained prosaic suspicions of men whose fathers could not be produced upon occasion.

For readers who must have their hero the legitimate heir, little interest attached to the moment when he came to the throne. But for those who lived, in story at least, in an older age, a man must prove his title to the kingship by his prowess, or the gods must send a sign to men to aid them in their choosing. Between "The King is dead!"

⁹ Both summarized, *Rev. Celt.*, XII, p. 238.

and "Long live the King!" there was a whole chapter aquiver with suspense.

In Geoffrey's account Arthur is brought up as Uther's son. At the latter's death, the barons decide at once to crown Arthur, "the late king's son." His elevation to the throne takes place without question and without interest.¹⁰ Layamon says that elves took Arthur at his birth and gave him magic gifts,¹¹ but his understanding of the birth and youth of Arthur does not seem to differ otherwise from that of Wace, who here follows Geoffrey with no change. In the romances, however, beginning with Robert de Borron's account,¹² Uther's death begins a new romance. Uther has died without an heir, and the barons assemble to deliberate how they shall choose a king. By Merlin's counsel they agree to await a sign from heaven, promised by the magician for Christmas Day. Here, as in the story of Arthur's conception and his fostering, the magician is the intermediary who tempers the myth to a generation half lost to faith in marvels. On Christmas morning when the assembly is gathered together at the mass, they behold before the door of the minster a square rock, and on it an iron anvil half a foot high, and in that anvil a sword plunged to the hilt. When those who have gone out first from the minster behold it, they are astonished, and go back to tell the folk within. Then comes out the Archbishop of Logres, bearing the holy water and the holy things, and with him the priest who has been saying the mass. They, too, behold the rock and the anvil and the sword. Lest Satan have a hand in it, they first of all sprinkle the strange things with the holy water. This precaution taken, the Archbishop examines the marvels more closely and finds writing in letters of gold upon the pomel of the sword. The purport of the writing is this: "It is the choice of Jesus Christ that he who shall draw the sword from the anvil shall be king of the land."

¹⁰ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, bk. IX, ch. I.

¹¹ Layamon, *Brut*, II, ll. 19254 ff.

¹² *Merlin*, I, p. 135.

Have the chroniclers and romancers that followed Geoffrey embroidered the story with supernatural elements? Or did Layamon, Robert de Borron, even the Vulgate version, have access to traditional material recounting the typical story of the birth of a demigod,¹³ which Geoffrey purposely suppressed in order that his narrative should be under no suspicion of historical inaccuracy?¹⁴

In the French tale the rock outside the church of Logres must bear an inscription lest men mistake the meaning of the sword. But such ordeals as de Borron relates were part and parcel of Celtic thought and custom, and the chapter which we have just cited on the accession of the hero is the appropriate sequel to the marvelous birth-story which we have discerned behind even Geoffrey's narrative of Arthur.

The story of the accession of the Irish Conaire, like that of his birth, is of the same fabric, and has undergone similar modification in transmission. In the version given in *De Shíl Chonairi Móir*,¹⁵ it is by ordeal that the king is chosen. The Old Irish text is so crowded with surprising detail that we give it in literal translation:

There was a king's chariot at Tara. To the chariot were yoked two steeds of the same color, which had never before been harnessed. It would tilt up before any man who was not destined to receive the kingship of Tara, so that he could not control it, and the horses would spring at him. And there was a king's mantle in the chariot; whoso might not receive Tara's sovereignty, the mantle was ever too big for him. And there were two flagstones in Tara: "Blocc" and "Bluigne"; when they accepted a man, they would open before him until the chariot went through.

It was such tests as these that Conaire passed, to become King of Erin. They are not so different from

¹³ *Folk Lore Record*, IV, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁴ Critics have inclined to the latter hypothesis. Cf. Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 197, n. 2, ¶3; p. 203, n. 1; Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 141 *et passim*; *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, p. 302. We shall attempt to establish it.

¹⁵ *Eriu*, VI, pp. 138-139. In the version in *Rev. Celt.*, XII, pp. 247-250, it is by divination that the king's successor is chosen.

Arthur's drawing the magic sword from the anvil in the rock.

In the stories of Arthur's birth and fosterage and coming to the throne, there is much that suggests a supernatural hero. The redactor may insist as much as he likes that Arthur's father was the King of Britain, but we are suspicious. He doth protest too much. And the incidents of his story duplicate too perfectly a different type. Everything happens as it would happen if the stranger who came to Igerne on that fateful night came once and came no more. Hardly a version that does not betray some typical trait of a demigod. Igerne herself, according to Robert de Borron,¹⁶ is convinced that she has been visited by a divinity, and that the child she bears is not the offspring of her lord, but of one unknown. We find him in fosterage among humble folk, and ignorant of his origin. He is brother to a fairy woman¹⁷ and possessor of magical objects.¹⁸ Marvels appear to designate him for the kingship. In the *Mabinogion*, he is a fearless hunter, a creature of more than human proportions, of weird adventure, of uncanny companions.¹⁹ Even in Geoffrey of Monmouth he fights against monsters²⁰ and is finally borne away "to the island of Avalon to be healed of his wounds." Let us now examine the story of Arthur in Avalon and see if in this passage as in the preceding portions of his story, we find that he is kin to the supernatural heroes of romance.

When Arthur has received his deadly wound, we read in the *Mort Artu*,²¹ he rides down toward the sea, and there he sits him down and ungirds his sword and drawing the blade from the scabbard gives it to Girflet and bids him go cast it in a lake near a certain rock. Girflet goes

¹⁶ *Merlin*, XVIII-XIX, pp. 113-130.

¹⁷ See Paton, *Fairy Mythology*, pp. 142-143, for bibliography.

¹⁸ Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, p. 95 and n. 4; A. C. L. Brown, *Round Table*, p. 183; Mason, *Arthurian Chronicles* (Everyman ed.), pp. xvi-xvii.

¹⁹ *Mabinogion*, "Kilwech and Olwen," "Dream of Rhonabwy." Cf. *Le Morte d'Arthur*, ed. Rhys, pp. xiii-xxvi; *Aigidecht Artuir*, discussed by K. Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte*, p. 1156.

²⁰ Fletcher, *Arthurian Material*, pp. 90-91.

²¹ *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, pp. 247-249.

down to the water, but he cannot bring himself to abandon so fair a piece of metal to the waves. He conceals it, and returns to the King, telling him that he has done his bidding. But Arthur knows that the sword has not been cast into the lake, for Girflet brings him no sign. "Go now again, and cast it in," he says, "for without marvel passing great it will not disappear." When Girflet casts it at last into the water, he beholds a hand, stretched forth from the lake, receive it, and brandish it three times upward. When this is told the King, "Thus indeed I thought," he says, "for my end is near."

Although the oldest text in which this passage is found belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century and although it appears elsewhere only in Malory, critics are inclined to consider it, on the ground of its beauty and mystery, an echo of some Celtic tradition.²² And when we examine it closely we recognize that the idea underlying it is indeed a part of primitive faith and ritual. It is the idea that the gods, consulted in due form, will render an answer to the believer's question.

In parts of France, and no doubt in many other places, the will of the gods is still divined by means similar to those which Arthur used. Those who have in the house one lying ill cast into a spring some belonging of his. If it floats, the invalid's recovery will be immediate. If it sinks, it is useless to tend him longer. It is frequently some of the linen of the sick man that is thus cast into the water. Sometimes it is a piece of iron.²³ In Arthur's case the questioning of the will of the gods was not that of a stranger or a suppliant. The sword which asked the question was of their own making: *fabricato in insula Avalonis*, says Geoffrey.²⁴

²² Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 203, n. 1.

²³ Sébillot, *Folk Lore de France*, II, pp. 245-246.

²⁴ *Historia Britonum*, bk. IX, ch. XI. One of my students at Vassar College, Miss Jane Andrews, calls my attention to Breton stories of lake fairies who spread out their shining treasures on the surface of the water to tempt the passers-by, and sometimes allow them to carry them away. Cf. Sébillot, *Folk Lore de France*, II, p. 415.

There are few epic heroes who do not possess a sword worthy of mention, sometimes of extended description, for the excellence of its steel, for the beauty of its workmanship, for the relics or charms or poison in its hilt. The achieving of his sword sometimes constitutes a whole chapter in the hero's biography; his farewell to his sword is his farewell to life. Arthur's grief in parting from his beloved weapon, and his regret in thinking of it in other hands than his own are nothing more than what we have in the Oxford manuscript of the *Chanson de Roland* where the hero lies down upon his sword to die.²⁵ Other versions of the story of Roland have still another element of the tale.²⁶ The rhymed texts represent him as thrusting the sword into a whirlpool or deep into the mud of a marshy stream. In the Scandinavian translation the dead hand of Roland is still clutching the sword when Charlemagne draws near. The Emperor preserves the hilt with its holy relics, and casts the blade into a stream near by. None but Roland is worthy to draw that sword.

But what we have in the Arthur story is more than this; and it is by just that *more* that it is the story of Arthur, the story of a hero to whom the earth and the waters are not dead things to receive dead things, but a realm well known, to which his sword brings a message certain of reply. From the island of Avalon it had come; to the island of Avalon it returned again when Avalon was ready to receive it. To Arthur, the favorite of the gods, no blind engulfing of his treasure was the answer, but a hand reached upward, visible, to receive it.

Let us now assemble the extant accounts of Arthur's passing. The passage in Geoffrey's *Historia* (1136) is brief to the point of unintelligibility. The *Vita Merlini*,²⁷ a poem written slightly later (1148), and also attributed to Geoffrey, tells of the place whither he goes. It describes a fortunate isle where the soil brings forth fruit and herb

²⁵ *Chanson de Roland*, ll. 2297-2359.

²⁶ Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III, p. 388 and n. 1.

²⁷ Selections edited by F. Lot, *Romania*, XLV, pp. 13 ff.

without tilling, where clusters of grapes hang from the untended vine and the forest branches are weighed down with apples. Here where the span of man's life is a hundred years, nine gracious sisters are rulers. The chief and fairest of them is Morgan, to whom the virtues of all herbs are known and the secret of flying through the air and of changing form. When she wishes she is at Bristol,²⁸ at Chartres, or at Pavia. To this island the pilot Barinthus guides the bark bearing the wounded Arthur, and Morgan herself receives the King and his companions with honor. Placing him on a golden couch, she uncovers his wound and scans it long. She can heal him, she says, if he will remain a long time with her, receiving her leechcraft. His companions give over to her their lord and set their sails for home.

In a recent article in the *Romania*,²⁹ M. F. Lot has pointed out that in this passage Geoffrey has elaborated a Celtic legend with descriptive details from the *Etymologiae* of Isidore of Seville and the *Collectanea rerum memorabilium* of Solinus. He has made the Celtic *fée* a magician and given her nine sisters whose names he is at pains to mention. He has identified the Celtic island of Avalon with similar marvelous islands of Latin tradition described by Solinus. The term *insula pomorum* by which he designates the island is a translation or etymology, whether false or true, of "Avalon," the word *avall* meaning "apple" in Celtic.

Wace, who retold Geoffrey's *Historia* in French (c. 1155), gives an account of Arthur's passing almost as brief as Geoffrey's. He adds, however, some twelfth-century gossip. The Britons, he says, still look for Arthur's

²⁸ *Romania*, XLV, p. 14. In note 2, p. 15, M. Lot suggests "Brest(?)" as a translation of "Bristi" (*Vita Merlini*, I, 925). The following suggestion has been given me by Roger Sherman Loomis: "The city of Bristol, according to Wm. Barrett (*History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, 1789, p. 40), on a coin of Henry I is called 'Bristo,' and on one of Edward I, 'Villa de Bristo.' Such a form might suggest a locative *Bristi*."

²⁹ *Romania*, XLV, pp. 13 ff.

return, and rightly, for he will indeed come back from Avalon, where he still is, and will live again. Wace cites Merlin as authority for the statement that Arthur's death is doubtful.³⁰ Chrestien de Troyes, in the romance of *Erec*, written about 1165,³¹ mentions a healing ointment of marvelous power given to Arthur by "his sister" Morgan la fée of Avalon. Layamon's English rendering of Wace (c. 1200)³² adds some interesting details. We are told that Arthur went to be healed by Argante, Queen of Avalon and fairest of all maidens, and that he promised to return and dwell with the British. When he had said this, declares Layamon, there came across the water a little boat bearing two women wondrously dight. They put him into it and carried him away to Avalon, where, as the British believe, he still dwells with the fairies. In the *Didot-Perceval* (thirteenth century)³³ similarly, Arthur himself announces his purpose to his followers who, gathered around him, mourn his fatal wound: "Let be this grief," he says, "for I shall not die. I shall let bear me to Avalon to Morgan my sister for the healing of my wounds." The *Gesta Regum Britanniae*, an adaptation in verse of Geoffrey's *Historia*, written between 1234 and 1237, adds descriptive details. The island, the poet declares, is lacking in no good thing, and nothing evil is found there, thief, nor robber, nor hostile band. No violence is there, nor excess of heat or cold, but always peace and harmony and eternal spring. Flowers grow in abundance, and one beholds youth only, young men and maidens forever; no old age nor sickness nor sorrow. A royal virgin holds sway in that island surrounded by maidens. Thither Arthur is borne, sorely wounded, and there he is detained by her for healing.³⁴

³⁰ Wace, *Brut*, ll. 13681-13687.

³¹ *Erec und Enide*, l. 4220; cf. l. 1957.

³² Layamon, *Brut*, III, ll. 28610 ff.

³³ J. Weston, *Sir Perceval*, II, p. 111. For date see Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 133 and n. 2.

³⁴ *Romania*, I, p. 464; Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, p. 335.

In the *Mort Artu* (thirteenth century)³⁵ the King is more chary of his words than in the *Didot-Perceval*. He is displeased with Girflet who has disobeyed him and lied to him concerning the casting of Excalibur into the water, and he bids him depart. When Girflet begs to know where he is going, Arthur tells him only that he shall see him no more. When the knight has gone a short way, a rain begins to fall, and sitting down on a rock he waits for it to pass, looking backward toward the spot where he has left the King. Then he sees, coming over the sea, a boat filled with ladies. It draws towards King Arthur and the ladies come to the edge. In Manuscript Add. 10294, British Museum, the mistress of them holds Morgan, sister of Arthur, by the hand, and calls to the King to enter the boat. In another manuscript, Fr. 342 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Morgan is herself mistress of them, and it is she who asks her brother to enter the boat.³⁶

Malory³⁷ states distinctly that Arthur goes to Avalon to be healed of his wounds, and adds further details, emphasizing the melancholy scene. Here Arthur bears Bedevere, who has the rôle of Girflet, no ill-will, and the friendship of the two men adds to the effect of pathos.

"Alas," sayd the kyng, "helpe me hens, for I drede me I have taryed over longe." Than syr Bedwere toke the kyng upon his backe and so wente wyth hym to that water syde and whan they were at the water syde evyn fast by the banke hoved a lytyl barge wyth *many fayr ladyes in hit* and emonge hem al was a quene and *al they had blacke hoodes* and *al they wepte and shryked* whan they sawe Kyng Arthur. "Now put me in to the barge," sayd the kyng. And so he dyd softelye. And there receyved hym thre quenes wyth *grete mornynge* and soo they sette hem down and in one of their lappes Kyng Arthur layed hys heed. And than that quene sayd, "A, dere broder, why have ye taryed so longe from me? Alas, this wounde on your heed hath caught overmoche colde." And soo than they rowed from the londe and syr Bedwere cryed "A, my lord Arthur, what shal become of me

³⁵ *Mort Artu*, ed. Bruce, pp. 249-251. For date see Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 136; Bruce, *Rom. Review*, X, 1919, pp. 378-380.

³⁶ Cf. Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 200, n. 7.

³⁷ Malory, *Morte*, bk. XXI, ch. V.

now ye goo from me. And leve me here allone emonge myn enemyes?" "Comfort thyself," sayd the kyng, "and doo as wel as thou mayst, for in me is no truste for to truste in. For I wyl in to the vale of Avylyon *to hele me of my grevous wounde*. And yf thou here never more of me praye for my soule." But ever the *quenes and ladyes wepte and shryched* that hyt was pyte to here.

We first hear that Arthur is borne to Avalon to be healed of his wounds in Geoffrey's *Historia* (c. 1136). The name Morgan first occurs in Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini* (c. 1148). She is first mentioned as Arthur's sister in Chrestien's *Erec* (c. 1165). Are we to suppose that these latter elements of the story were invented by Geoffrey and Chrestien and that the author of the *Didot-Perceval*, for example, must have read *Erec* in order to know that Morgan was the sister of Arthur?³⁸ On the contrary, as we shall attempt to show in the following pages, the presence of a supernatural kinswoman similar to Morgan in Celtic analogues to the Passing of Arthur leads us to believe that there was a traditional Celtic story of Arthur in which Morgan was an essential element, and that this story was known to Geoffrey and Chrestien. Wace, the author of the *Didot-Perceval*, and Layamon, may equally have had independent access to it. Even as late as the *Mort Artu* and Malory, traditional details appear for the first time. The hand is lifted from the waters to receive and brandish the sword. The fairy boat comes to the very spot where Arthur lies wounded. A troop of fairy women receive Arthur with *grete mornynge*. And these details, as we shall show, are characteristic features of a consistent Celtic tradition.³⁹

It will be observed that in the *Mort Artu*, and in Malory, who is following that text, it is not said that Morgan will heal her brother or that she is bearing him away to Avalon. On the contrary Girflet is represented

³⁸ This is the interpretation of M. F. Lot, *Romania*, XLV, pp. 16-17.

³⁹ In the tradition of Tristan, Malory alone mentions that Tristan must go for healing to the land where "the venym came fro," an essential element in the original tradition. Cf. Schoepperle, *Tristan*, pp. 375 ff.

as finding two tombs next morning in the *Vaire Capiele*, before the altar, and on the fairer and nobler of the two, letters that say, "Here lieth King Arthur who by his valor brought under his sway twelve realms." When Girflet inquires concerning the truth of this inscription he is told that the body of Arthur has been brought to the chapel by unknown ladies that morning.

This account, in which Arthur's body remains as a pledge of his mortality, is due no doubt to the desire of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman monarch to put an end to the idea that Arthur would return.⁴⁰

The idea of crossing waters to an Otherworld is widespread. It is familiar of course in classic literature, and we find it, as is pointed out at length by Dr. Martha Beckwith⁴¹ in the present volume, in places as remote as Polynesia. There, on the bank of a swift river, the waiting souls, huddled together, call to a supernatural ferryman. Drawing near and taking them into his boat, he bears them over the fierce currents along the sun's path to a mysterious land called Avaiki.

For the great mass of men, according to the Celtic belief as according to the Polynesian and many others, life after death is in a silent place. Only for the few is it in a place of joy and beauty. Life eternal is not for the common man.⁴² The aristocratic pagan ideal reappears after nineteen centuries of the Christian doctrine of indiscriminate immortality in Browning's *Toccata of Galuppi* and in the sonnet of Matthew Arnold:

The energy of life may be
Kept on after the grave, but not begun;
And he who flagged not in the earthly strife,
From strength to strength advancing—only he,
His soul well-knit, and all his battles won,
Mounts, and that hardly, to eternal life.

The *Mort Artu* has left of the marvelous just those

⁴⁰ Lot, *Lancelot*, p. 202, n. 4.

⁴¹ Pp. 29 ff.

⁴² Macculloch, *Religion*, pp. 375-380.

vestiges which linger still by Brèton seas today—the story of a mystic boat that comes on the waters to bear away the souls of those who lie in mortal pain. In the boat of the Breton tales, and in Malory's barge, the crew give piercing cries of sorrow as they bear away the soul. After receiving their charge, they push off and are away with the swiftness of an arrow. Once even, the village of Tréguier remembers, there was one so favored that at his last hour there came a *bag-noz* (boat of the night) for him alone. As early as the sixth century the Celts told these tales, for the Greek historian Procopius relates them in almost the same terms as those in which they reach us today. In the thirteenth century Gervase of Tilbury tells us that it was a custom in cities along the Rhone to send the dead out upon the waters.⁴³ To be sure, the coffin was supposed to find its way to the cemetery of Arles, a destination which betrays a mythmaking fancy clipped with the same shears as those of the author of *Mort Artu*. But in spite of the clipping, it is clear that in the original form of the story, the Avalon to which the hero returns is the land of the ancestral gods. It is his sister Morgan who comes to bear him thither. He then, like her, must be sprung from the immortals. The birth-story of Arthur thus first becomes fully comprehensible in the light of the tale of his death.

Among old Irish heroes there was more than one who was lured to the Otherworld and who sojourned there for a time or forever. Cuchulainn, stricken with love for a fairy woman, was healed by her of his malady when he sought her realm and gave himself to her service.⁴⁴ Connla, who tasted of the apple given him by the fay, never returned to the land of mortals.⁴⁵ Bran⁴⁶ and Ossian,⁴⁷ homesick, returned to share the bitter human

⁴³ Sébillot, *Folk Lore de France*, II, ch. VII, § 1.

⁴⁴ *Serglige Conculaind*. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 94.

⁴⁵ *Echtra Condla Chaim*. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 106.

⁴⁶ *Immram Brain maic Febail*. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 115.

⁴⁷ *Laoidh Oisín ar Thír na n-Óg* by Michael Coimin. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, pp. 207-208.

fate of weakness and suffering and old age. There were tales also, to be found among the Celts as well as in the classical writers, of those who visited the Otherworld, after the manner of tourists, to tell of it on their return to their stay-at-home compatriots.

There are glimpses in French *lais* and romances of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, of heroes on whom the love of a woman of the fairy lands has fallen, and who must journey to her realm with many perils. Sometimes the fairy wounds the warrior with love from afar, and for the healing of his hurt he finds no leechcraft until he seeks her in her realm. It may be that he sets out for sheer love of adventure, as in the *Yvain* of Chrestien de Troyes.⁴⁸ Or it may be the enmity of the Otherworld that brings about his quest, as in Tristan's⁴⁹ voyage for healing, and Cuchulainn's in the *Loinges mac n-Dul n-Dermait*.

But Arthur's wound in the battle of Camlan is the work of human foes, and no Celtic story has been pointed out in which a hero thus wounded is ever borne to the Otherworld for healing and brought back. Is the notion of Arthur's return from Avalon therefore, in spite of all the indications in the story of his kinship with the immortals, a notion foreign to traditional romantic conceptions, and should we thus consider it political propaganda of later development?

There is one curious Old Irish story and, so far as I know, one only, which is similar to Arthur's. It is the story of Fraech, contained in the *Book of Leinster*, an Irish manuscript of the early twelfth century, and variously told in Ireland and Scotland many times in the succeeding generations.⁵⁰

Fraech, son of Idach, like Arthur, has a powerful kinswoman among the fairy people. His mother's sister is the water goddess Boinn. She had given him fairy gifts,—

⁴⁸ *Yvain*, ll. 1 ff.

⁴⁹ Schoepperle, *Tristan*, pp. 375-390.

⁵⁰ *Táin bó Fráich*. *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, p. 97.

raiment and shields and spears, swords and horses, hounds and harpers and serving men,—gifts as magical as those that Arthur cherished. For, like Excalibur, Fraech's weapons with their fairy jewels blazed in the night as if they were rays of the sun, and because of their light and the magical music of his harpers, three days and nights passed without their hosts' perceiving that the sun had set.

The story of Fraech seems to have been conceived by the ancient Irish on somewhat the same lines as the Welsh tale of *Kilhwch and Olwen*. It is an epic version of the folk-tale of the quest of a hero for a bride.⁵¹ To obtain the princess whom he has determined to win the folk-hero sets out to the distant land where she dwells. In some versions by means of a ruse, in some without difficulty, he gains access to her kingdom. Her family is hostile to him and he has need of all his wits and strength and the aid of friends to win her. Sometimes he pretends to be a merchant and decoys her to his ship. Sometimes he accomplishes the well-nigh impossible exploits which her family require as her bride-price. We all know the conventional tasks: to procure the water of Paradise and Hell, or the water of Beauty, or the water of Life and Death; to procure a talisman that has fallen into the sea, or is in some similarly inaccessible place; to collect a great number of small scattered objects, such as pearls or grains; to kill a giant or other monster. Fraech, although he gives proof of courage and shrewdness worthy of the protagonist of this story, is depicted by the Old Irish poets as the typically unlucky hero, like Grettir or Cormac of Norse Saga, and his quest, unlike the quest of the folk-hero, ends with his death. The parents of Fraech's princess, as usual hostile and treacherous, set the hero the traditional tasks, the finding of a ring which has been thrown into a lake, the destruction of a monster, the defense of the realm against a champion of supernatural power. The Irish *filid* have modified these typical fea-

⁵¹ Schoepperle, *Tristan*, pp. 184-197.

tures almost beyond recognition, treating them with that turn for realism in the midst of romance characteristic of mediæval Irish story. Two versions of the tales were current before the twelfth century, one in which the wooer lost his life in a combat with a water-monster, the other in combat with a foreign champion. What interests us here is that the two were combined before the first half of the twelfth century in a story of a fairy kinswoman who carried the hero away to the Otherworld to be healed and brought him back safe and sound to continue his earthly existence. The idea of Arthur's passing to Avalon and returning thus fits in so completely with Celtic traditional belief that it would seem far more reasonable to account for it as a remnant of Celtic romance than as having originated in national enthusiasm.

The following is the passage from the story of Fraech.⁵² The reader will be interested in comparing the history of the transmission of this passage of the Irish tale, with that of Arthur's passing to Avalon. The hero, wounded by the water-monster, has been brought into the palace and laid upon the bed:

Then they heard wailing upon Cruachan and they saw thrice fifty women with purple tunics, with green headgear, with silver rings upon their wrists. Messengers went to them and asked wherefor they lamented. "For Fraech, son of Idach," says one of the women, "for the darling of the princess of the fairy folk of Erin." Fraech too heard the wailing. "Bear me hence," said he to his folk, "this is the wailing of my mother and of the women of the Boinn." He was lifted out and carried to them. The women surrounded him and carried him away to the fairy mound of Cruachan.

At nones on the morrow men beheld him returning, whole and sound, without hurt or blemish; and around him fifty women, alike in age and stature, alike in beauty and charm, after the fashion of the fairy women, so that no one of them might be told from another. So great was the press about them that men well-nigh smothered.

⁵² *Rev. Celt.*, XXIV, pp. 149-150, 136-137. Cf. *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, IV, pp. 41-42; *Sagen*, Thurneysen, p. 123.

At the door of the stronghold they parted from him. And they broke into their wailing as they left him. Well-nigh distraught by the sound were the folk of the stronghold. *Hence the "Wailing of the Banshee" which the musicians of Erin are wont to play.*

The same version goes on to relate that the guileful Medb then sets the hero the task of defending Connaught against Cuchulainn.

The story of Fraech's combat with Cuchulainn is preserved to us in the oldest version of *Táin bó Cúailnge*.⁵³ It ends with these words:

Ath Fraech, that was the name of that ford forever. All the host lamented Fraech. They saw a troop of women in green tunics on the body of Fraech mac Idaid; they drew him from them into the mound. "Sid Fraich" was the name of that mound afterward.

The *Dindsenchas*⁵⁴ of Carn Fraich, a topographical poem of later date, recounts in more detail how Fraech was killed in the combat with Cuchulainn and how he was borne away to the elf-mounds. In the earlier account the green tunics had been indication enough that these were fairy women.

Before Medb quitted the field
She saw a strange sight drawing nigh,
Women folk, sweet-voiced, famous long after,
Their beauty reflected in the stream's shining waters.

The blooming women-folk bear
The body away with them to the peaceful elf-mound:
They utter wailing and vehement grief;
Unbefitting was their general woe.

In this account, as in the *Mort Artu*, there is no promise of healing. The women are lamenting, and they bear the hero away to the fairy realm. The Otherworld is not be-

⁵³ *Cattle Raid*, ed. Faraday, p. 36. Cf. also *Bibliography*, Nat. Lib. of Ireland, pp. 95-96.

⁵⁴ *Metrical Dindsenchas*, Gwynn, III, p. 357.

yond the water, but, as is the case just as frequently in Celtic tales, in the elf-mounds.

The writer of the *Rennes Dindsenchas*⁵⁵ was acquainted with three different accounts of Fraech's death. According to one he was killed by another Fraech, son of the King of Spain, when the latter came raiding the cattle of Cruachan, and he is buried in Carn Fraich to the south of that place. This writer also knows the story of the water-monster and the tradition that Fraech was healed in the fairy mound (in Sidh Fraich or Carn Fraich) after his fight with it. "Or," he continues, "mayhap he was killed by the monster and his grave is in the Carn. But this is not the truth of the tale," he objects, now bringing forward a third death-story, "for he fell by Cuchulainn in combat at a ford." Whatever uncertainty may attach to the manner of the hero's passing, the topographer is sure that he was carried to Carn Fraich or Sidh Fraich by fairy women.

In the *Book of the Dean of Lismore*, a Scotch-Gaelic manuscript written in the sixteenth century, there is a ballad of the *Death of Fraoch*⁵⁶ in which the hero is killed in his struggle with the water-monster. The later Gaelic ballads⁵⁷ which preserve the story give it the same ending, equally without any question of healing or return.

It is a curious coincidence, which illustrates the variability of mediæval romance within fixed limits, that according to some accounts Arthur also meets his death in a struggle with a Celtic water-monster, the Cath Paluc. In some versions it appears that after this struggle he was borne away through the waters to Avalon.⁵⁸ These stories, like certain of the stories of Fraech, seem unaware of the tradition of the hero's death from battle-wounds.

In the old days, as we have seen, the half-gods thought

⁵⁵ *Rev. Celt.*, XV, p. 294.

⁵⁶ Campbell, *Celtic Dragon Myth*, p. 18.

⁵⁷ *Leabhar na Feinne*, pp. 29-33.

⁵⁸ Freymond, *Artus' Kampf*, pp. 367 f.

little of passing to the Otherworld and back again. The transition was attended with certain dangers, but courage and prudence and the hurt of love were cause enough and provision enough for the journey.

As time went on, however, and the old faith weakened, the idea of return must have faded. For the *bean-sidh* (pronounced *banshee*), the fairy kinswoman of popular tradition today, is the certain messenger of death. She is rarely visible. Her wailing song is heard sometimes by the victim, sometimes by his friends, a short time before his death. Sometimes she is a pale-faced, beautiful young woman in a white or green tunic with floating hair, and the cries that she utters as she waves her arms are sometimes sweet, sometimes terrible to hear. The banshee most frequently comes at night, and her song is seldom audible except to the one for whom her warning is intended. She is usually alone, but in rare cases, when the person fated to die is one of great holiness or courage, several are heard singing in chorus.⁵⁹

To have a woman of the fairy folk for a kinswoman is possible only if one is oneself sprung from the immortals. It is therefore comprehensible that only the old families have banshees. They may have sunk into the most abject poverty, but their poverty, the result of resistance to foreign rule, is one of the marks of the ancient stock:

Not for base-born higgling Saxon trucksters
Ring laments like those by shore and sea!
Not for churls with souls like hucksters
Waileth our banshee.
For the high Milesian race alone
Ever flows the music of her woe!
For slain heir to bygone throne
And for chief laid low.⁶⁰

The banshee that came for Arthur and the banshee that came for Fraech were older and fairer sisters of the

⁵⁹ McAnally, *Irish Wonders*, pp. 108-118; Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends*, pp. 135-137.

⁶⁰ Yeats, *Fairy and Folk Tales*, p. 113.

banshee that come to the great families of Ireland today; but their lament for the wounded god is no longer the prelude to a sojourn for healing in the ancestral home. Christianity, unwilling to accept her as the herald of the Christian heaven, hears in her lamenting only the note of despair.⁶¹

⁶¹ Through the kindness of Father A. O'Kelleher, formerly of Ballyvourney, County Cork, I have the following communication from Mr. O'Brien of that place, in reply to my inquiry as to the knowledge of the banshee in that neighborhood. Mr. O'Brien wrote in Irish; the translation is literal.

"Sir: We have no knowledge of the banshee, but we hear of things that have to do with the spirit-world happening to certain families before their death. Such as the little dogs of O'Keefe. Little dogs used to be heard in the heavens barking when one of the family of Caomh Cuilinn O'Keefe would be about to die. We hear people say that they hear 'crying' and that a person dies in the neighborhood where it is heard. It is said that crying was heard here on the evening William Hegartly and Michael Lynch were shot. There is another tribe and it is not crying that is heard when they are about to die, but something like fences and stones falling. There is another family and it is said that its calling is heard when they are about to die." Cf. for kindred superstitions, O'Kelleher and Schoepperle, *Rev. Celt.*, XXXII, 1911, pp. 53-58; J. Rhys, *Celtic Folk Lore, Welsh and Manx*, Oxford, 1901, II, p. 453; A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort chez les Bretons armoricains*, Paris, 1902; A. Le Braz, *La Légende de la mort en Basse-Bretagne*, Paris, 1893.

POLYNESIAN ANALOGUES TO THE
CELTIC OTHERWORLD AND
FAIRY MISTRESS
THEMES



BY MARTHA WARREN BECKWITH

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IN Mr. Alfred Nutt's delightful essay accompanying Dr. Kuno Meyer's translation of the Irish *Voyage of Bran*, he argues for the original native development of the Happy Otherworld theme in Celtic-speaking countries, independent of the form it takes in Greece, Egypt, India or in early Christian apocalyptic literature.¹ It would be hazardous for me to venture an opinion upon the basis of mediæval texts such as Mr. Nutt discusses; this field I leave fairly to the mediævalists. I do believe, however, that our understanding of mediæval literature grows apace in so far as we are able to reconstitute the actual conditions under which it developed and see how it really came to be as it is. Since our knowledge of early British culture is so limited, its remains so overlaid with later accretions, scholars have justly proceeded with caution in drawing conclusions from what must seem for a long time to come a mere jumble of material. Is it not possible, however, to form our picture with some degree of assurance upon an analogy drawn from a native culture far removed from European contacts, where conditions of life and thought are in many respects parallel to those of early Britain, and where the same theme of the Happy Otherworld with its accompanying idea of the Fairy Mistress has developed along somewhat similar, but in the very nature of the case independent, lines? In

¹ *The Voyage of Bran, Son of Febal, to the Land of the Living*, ed. Kuno Meyer, London, 1895 (*Grimm Library*, IV).

the Polynesian-speaking islands of the Pacific I believe we find such a culture, where for at least hundreds of years ideas have shaped themselves independently of continental influences; where those beliefs which have taken form in ritual, song and story are still living and capable of study; and where the conception of an earthly paradise and of a fairy mistress are among the most common themes so utilized. Should anyone ask what possible comparison can be made between peoples so antipodal as Celt and Polynesian, I plead the words of Mr. Nutt himself, who has elsewhere said that, should we seek for analogies to the actual conditions under which the early Irish tales and songs were composed, we should find their nearest approach among the North American Indians and the Maoris of New Zealand; and the testimony of Mr. MacCulloch, who, in his *Childhood of Fiction*, calls the tales of the Red Indians and the Polynesians "the most elaborate and imaginative" of those found among "savages and barbaric races in every part of the world." I urge how in Ireland also, not two thousand years ago, the natives offered human sacrifices, married sisters to brothers, put taboos upon themselves and each other, and did and thought other strange things familiar in Polynesian intellectual circles not a hundred years back. Polynesian literature, orally developed, is full of images of great grace and beauty, and the beliefs upon which they are based live as a profound conviction in the hearts of the people today.

In our Western literature, the conception of the Happy Otherworld appears as a shifting complex made up of a number of not necessarily related ideas. It is essentially a land of unfading delight. Often it is thought of as a lost land, once accessible to men. Hence, again, it is sometimes looked upon as the cradle-land of the race. It is inhabited by persons more than mortal, who may be designated as the ancient gods. And, finally, it is sometimes identified with the land to which heroes repair after death. All these five ideas, which it is evident may and do

exist in combination or independently of each other, shift in and out of the Happy Otherworld fabric. Shifting, too, are the geographical boundaries of the Otherworld. In Celtic story it is now overseas on an island, now under the sea, or, again, plunged under hills within the bowels of the earth. In other literatures, a lofty mountain or the sky itself holds the garden of delight. But wherever it may lie, whatever conceptions, ethical or romantic, may be bound up with it, descriptions agree in attributing to it every element of sensuous delight held in a state of suspense at the highest point of development; they differ only as to what elements contribute to this delight.² Moreover, the forms the story takes differ according to the intention of the composer. In romance, the Happy Otherworld becomes the background for a fairy mistress or for some culture-gift to be won or stolen by the adventurer. In religious mythology, it is the happy warrior's reward. Legendary history pictures it fondly as the cradle-land of the race,—hence the Hebrew Garden of Eden, the Golden Age of the Greeks, and the Scandinavian Land of Living Men. All this complexity, says Mr. Nutt, indicates independent manipulation. Although the same ideas are common to all, no one story can be traced exactly to another; each shows independent handling both in conception and in form. If we can show a similar development in Polynesia, where "texts" are carried living in the memories of the intellectual classes, we shall have done something to prove the plausibility of Mr. Nutt's general contention.

Not that I shall attempt, in this paper, an exhaustive study of the Happy Otherworld and the Fairy Mistress themes in Polynesia; I shall refer only to their more striking examples. For the sake of simplification, I shall confine these examples to seven groups, among which I include Fiji on the borders of the Melanesian area. These

² See *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXXIII, 1918, pp. 601-643, where Dr. Patch has made an interesting attempt to identify the original source of some common physical features which appear in Other-world conceptions.

seven are Tonga, Samoa, Fiji, Tahiti, Mangaia in the Hervey group, New Zealand and Hawaii.

So far as we know, all Polynesian groups teach the immortality of the soul. In the first four groups I have named, that is, in Tonga, Samoa, Fiji and Tahiti, there is a definite belief in a place called Bulotu to which heroes of rank repair after death to enjoy a continuous round of earthly delights. "We live as at Bulotu" is a Fiji proverb for "we live splendidly, joyously," the name being, according to Lesson, identical with a word used in New Zealand and in the Marquesas to express "agreeable, delightful, well-formed or well-beloved."³ Of this land we have detailed accounts, perhaps the fullest of which come from the Tongan group. Mariner's story is that of a captured British buccaneer adopted by a Tongan chief because of his superior parts, who lived to all intents like a native, as an intimate of chiefs, at a time when white men had little access to the island. It runs as follows:

The Tongan people universally and positively believe in the existence of a large island lying at a considerable distance to the northwestward of their own islands, which they consider to be the place of residence of their gods, and of the souls of their nobles and *matabooles* (inferior gods). This island is supposed to be much larger than all their own islands put together, to be well stocked with all kinds of useful and ornamental plants, always in a state of high perfection, and always bearing the richest fruits and the most beautiful flowers according to their respective natures; that when these fruits and flowers are plucked, others immediately occupy their places, and that the whole atmosphere is filled with the most delightful fragrance that the imagination can conceive, proceeding from these immortal plants; the island is also well stocked with the most beautiful birds of all imaginable kinds, as well as with abundance of hogs, all of which are immortal unless they are killed to provide food for the *hotooas* or gods; but the moment a hog or bird is killed, another living hog or bird immediately comes into existence to supply its place, the

³ P. A. Lesson, *Les Polynésians; leurs origins, leurs migrations, leur langage*, ed. Ludovic Martinet, Paris, 1880, II, p. 486.

same as with fruits and flowers, and this, as far as they know or suppose, is the only mode of propagation of plants and animals. The island of Bolotoo is supposed to be so far off as to render it dangerous for their canoes to attempt going there, and it is supposed, moreover, that even if they were to succeed in reaching so far, unless it happened to be the particular will of the gods, they would be sure to miss it.

They give, however, an account of a Tongan canoe which, on her return from the Fiji islands a long time ago, was driven by stress of weather to Bolotoo; ignorant of the place where they were, and being much in want of provisions,—seeing the country already in all sorts of fruit,—the crew landed and proceeded to pick some fruit, but to their unspeakable astonishment, they could no more lay hold of it than if it were a shadow; they walked through the trunks of the trees and passed through the substance of the houses (which were built like those of Tonga) without feeling any resistance.⁴

The story concludes with the return to Tonga at a miraculously swift rate of speed, and the almost immediate death of the voyagers, poisoned by the “infected air” of Bulotu. Mariner further tells of these insubstantial denizens of Bulotu that they have no need of canoes, “for if they wish to be anywhere, there they are the moment the wish is felt.” The chief god of Bulotu is worshiped in Tonga as a minor god, with whom are associated three others named “The Crowded Road,” “The Iron Axe” and “Toobo the Short.” It is to Bulotu that the souls of Tongan nobles resort at death to enjoy immortal delight; and here they bear the same names, the same rank and in general the same relations to each other as in life. Because of their greater judgment and equanimity, rival chiefs wage no war in Bulotu, but they dispute at times until the heavens thunder.⁵

That Bulotu is for the Tongan the lost land of origin whence sailed the gods who peopled Tonga, is clear both from Mariner’s story, and from the account of the matter

⁴ William Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, ed. John Martin, Edinburgh, 1827, II, pp. 102, 103.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 103-109.

given by Fison's informant. Fison's narrative runs as follows:

In the beginning there was no land, save that on which the gods lived; no dry land was there for men to dwell upon; all was sea; the sky covered it above, and bounded it on every side. There was neither day nor night; but a mild light shone continually through the sky upon the waters, like the shining of the moon when its face is hidden by a white cloud. A fine land is Bulotu, and happy are its people, for there, close to the house of Hiku-leo, is Vai-ola, the Water of Life, which the gods drink every day. Oh, that we had it here on earth, for it will heal all manner of sickness! Moreover, near the brink of the fountain stands Akau-lea, that wondrous tree, the Tree of Speech, under whose shadow the gods sit down to drink *kava*, the tree acting as master of the ceremonies and calling out the name of him to whom the bowl is to be delivered.⁶

The story is too long to quote entire of how the son of the lord of Bulotu defied the tree's warning and, sailing away with a party of adventurers, fished up the Tonga Islands out of the deep and peopled them, but could never again find his way back to Bulotu. Ever since, the place has remained lost to mortal men. The natives say,

Many of our heroes have sailed far and wide in search of the good land, but never have they reached its shores. Some of them, indeed, have told us that they saw it lying in the sunlight with its wooded hills, and its white ring of surf on the coral reef around it; but it has always faded away as they sailed onward.⁷

And again,

It has been sometimes seen with the sun shining full upon it, but, when those who have seen it have steered toward it, it has grown fainter and fainter, till it has vanished away like a cloud. The Matuku people say that sometimes burnt-out fishing-torches of a strange make, with handles of shell, drift ashore on their land, and when they pick them up they say, "See the torches from

⁶ Lorimer Fison, *Tales from Old Fiji*, London, 1904, p. 139. Cf. Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, II, p. 115.

⁷ Fison, *Fiji*, p. 159 and note, p. 163.

Bulotu!" And we know that in our day the chief called Mara—he who was hanged at Bau for rebellion—swore by the dead that he would find that land, and went sailing after it for many days; but he found it not, nor has anyone else ever trodden it since the day that the two gods hid it from our eyes.⁸

So ends a Tongan song—"Bulotu, they two are hiding it!"

Accounts from Tahiti describe Bulotu similarly as a garden of delight, the resort of the upper classes after death. Moerenhout writes as follows:

. . . ils avaient un ciel, *Rohoutou noa noa* (le Rohoutou parfumé), séjour de la lumière et des jouissances, qui, dans son genre, surpassait l'Elysées des Grecs, le ciel même de Mahomet, ne le cédant à aucun des séjours de délices ou de récompenses inventés par les fondateurs des diverses religions de la terre. Là, le soleil brillait du plus vif éclat, l'air était embaumé et toujours pur; là, ni vieillesse, ni maladies, ni douleur, ni tristesse; là, des fleurs toujours fraîches, des fruits toujours mûrs, une nourriture savoureuse et abondante; là, des chants, des danses, des fêtes sans fin, et les plaisirs les plus ravissants près des femmes éternellement jeunes, éternellement belles. Le *Rohoutou noa noa* était situé dans l'air, audessus d'une haute montagne de Raiatée; mais invisible aux mortels.⁹

Ellis's account of the Tahitian paradise, although it lacks some of the poetic fervor of the Frenchman's record, corroborates it in every particular; Ellis may, in fact, have borrowed from his predecessor. He says:

This *Rohutu noa noa*, . . . (perfumed or fragrant Rohutu), was altogether a Mohammedan paradise. It was supposed to be near a lofty and stupendous mountain in Raiatea, *Temehani unauna*, splendid or glorious Temehani. It was, however, said to be invisible to mortal eyes, being in the *reva* or aerial regions. The country was described as most lovely and enchanting in appearance, adorned with flowers of every form and hue, and perfumed with odours of every fragrance. The air was free from any

⁸ Fison, *Fiji*, p. 16.

⁹ J. A. Moerenhout, *Voyages aux îles du Grand Océan*, Paris, 1837, I, p. 434.

noxious vapour, pure and salubrious. Every species of enjoyment to which the Areois and other favored classes had been accustomed on earth, was to be participated in there; while rich viands and delicious fruits were supposed to be furnished in abundance, for the celebration of their sumptuous festivals. Handsome youths and women, *purotu anae*, all perfection, thronged the place. Those honours and gratifications were only for the privileged orders, the Areois and the chiefs, who could afford to pay the priests for the passport thither. . . . Those who had been kings of Areois in this world were the same there forever. They were supposed to be employed in a succession of amusements and indulgences similar to those to which they had been addicted on earth, often perpetrating the most unnatural crimes, which their tutelar gods were represented as sanctioning by their own example.¹⁰

The same idea of Bulotu as a land of delight for the heroic dead is recorded from Samoa. In Tonga, only the nobility cherish the hope of immortality; in Samoa, all the dead are supposed to inhabit an underworld reached, as is usual in Polynesian conceptions of the land of the dead, by a plunge into the sea at certain fixed points along the coast.¹¹ But in this Samoan underworld, arrangements are made to care for the aristocratic dead in a manner befitting their rank. Turner writes, "The chiefs were supposed to have a separate place allotted to them, called Pulotu, . . . and to have plenty of the best food and other indulgences." He goes on to give a highly symbolic picture of this land of plenty. Its monstrous ruler has the head of a man and the extremities of a fish, the tail stretching away into the sea like a serpent while the human half occupies a great house in Pulotu which is "supported not by pillars of wood and stone but by columns of living men, men who on earth had been chiefs of the highest rank."¹² The cult character of this belief perhaps

¹⁰ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches during a residence of nearly eight years in the Society and Sandwich Islands*, London, 1832, I, pp. 245, 246.

¹¹ George Turner, *Nineteen Years in Polynesia*, London, 1861, p. 235.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 237. Cf. W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 3, 4, where the first man of Mangaia, who later becomes ruler of the

accounts for the fact that the folk-story of Samoa seems to be so little touched by its influence.

In Fiji, the belief in the immortality of the soul extends not only to animals and plants but to all inanimate objects, whose essences are supposed to make out of the Otherworld a duplicate of earth. From Fiji, the reports of Bulotu are full and important. Williams, a very careful early recorder, writes as follows:

Mburotu is the Fijian Elysium, and in its description the most glowing language is used. Scented groves and pleasant glades, smiled upon by an unclouded sky, form the retreat of those who dwell in the blest region, where there is an abundance of all that a native deems most to be desired. Such are the delights of Mburotu that the word is used proverbially to describe any uncommon joy.¹³

The somewhat circumstantial account which Williams gives of the dramatic ritual used in Fiji to figure forth the journey of the shade to this Happy Otherworld of Bulotu,¹⁴ is strikingly verified by the more detailed report of a recent observer. One of the most exciting records in all the annals of ethnological field-work is Mr. Basil Thomson's account of how he walked the "Pathway of the Shades" along the Kouvandra range on Vitilevu of the Fijian group, and saw acted out the songs which describe the perils of the soul on its way to Bulotu.¹⁵ The stage for the enactment of the drama was the road along the ridge, which had been banked up sometimes to a height of thirty or forty feet with earth packed up from the river valley, in order to form a level path about two feet wide for the

dead, is also pictured as half man and half fish. The sun is the "eye" of the human half seen in the upper world. The moon is that of the fish half, which dwells in Avaiki.

¹³ Thomas Williams and James Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, New York, 1859, p. 194.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 191-193.

¹⁵ Basil Thomson, *The Fijians; A study in the decay of custom*, London, 1908, pp. 117-133. Cf. Andrew Lang, *Magic and Religion*, pp. 72-74, for a reference to the corresponding Bora rites reported by Mr. A. L. P. Cameron from New South Wales.

ease and convenience of the souls who must use this route. The songs represent the experiences of these souls along the way, and are sung at a ceremonial called *Namakua*, a word which evidently refers the ritual to the ancestral gods.

The story is too long to quote entire; I can only indicate some of its features. Certain adventures emphasize differences in rank or character. For instance, the shade is ferried across a swift river in a canoe divided into two parts, breadfruit wood for a commoner, hardwood for a chief. He has to choose certain fruit according to rank. A "pinching-stone" and a sandal-wood tree test his vocation in life by the presence or absence of prints on their smooth sides when he handles them. A plant of the orchid species, if he has been surly and ill-tempered, compels him to pass over it instead of letting him easily under. Two goddesses armed with nets make a scoop at him in passing, and only the warrior escapes this snare into which the coward inevitably falls. The song runs as follows:

They spread out their nets for a catch,
They spread their net across the belly of the road.
We hold the net and wait,
The shade of the dead is topping the ridge,
Let us lift up the head of the net cautiously.
The shade leaps and clears the net with a bound,
One goddess claps, and clasps her hands, and the
 other bites her fingers [in chagrin].
I look after the shade, but it is far on its way,
Let us fold up the net and return.

Other perils the advancing shade encounters. From the time when Pursuer-of-Shades pounds his neck with a great stone, he must go stooping. Two terrible hags peer at him hideously and gnash their teeth. A god chops at his back with an axe. From "Reeling-place," where another god aims at him with a rush-spear, he goes on tottering to "Bowling-place," then crawls on to the next stage, from which point he must be dragged over the ground. In

these adventures it is easy to see personified the various stages of old age which precede death.

Certain events of the journey symbolize the relations of the dead with those most closely associated with him on earth. The failure of the shade to hit with the whale-tooth ornament, always laid upon the breast of a dead chief for this purpose, the trunk of the sacred pandanus tree which stands at the entrance of the pathway, or the turning of the eel-bridge under his feet, is a sign that his wife has proved unfaithful and refused to be strangled in order to follow him to spirit-land. The song for such an occasion is touched with ridicule. At another place, the souls of little children hang "like bats" to a tree beside the path waiting for their parents. As the shade approaches, they cry for news. If he tells them, "The smoke of their cooking-fire is set upward," they lament their orphanage, knowing that their parents will be long in coming; but if he says, "Their hair is grey, the smoke of their cooking-fire hangs along the ground," then they say, "It is well; I shall soon have a father and a mother. O hasten! for I am weary of waiting for you." At a place called "Short-reeds," the soul for the first time recognizes other souls who are accompanying him. So, when two foes wish to live apart, they say, "We two will meet at 'Short-reeds,' " meaning, "never in this life."

Emotional excitement is further aroused by the contemplation of the delights to which the soul is journeying. At "Water-of-solace" he drinks and, then for the first time beholding the "shell roofs" gleaming above the great houses of Kauvandra, he forgets his grief and throws away the load of food which he is carrying. At the same time his friends on earth put away their mourning. The song runs:

We stop to rest at the Wainindula,
We meet and drink together, e, e.
Having drunk, we are mad with joy,
The Kai Ndreketi are getting excited,
They have sight of our bourne.

The shell-covered ridge-poles to which we are journeying,
They seem to pierce the empyrean.

Farther on, at the "Place-of-Wonder," the soul looks back and takes his last look at this world, beholding all its marvels but without regret. He indeed dreads lest he be sent back by the "Dismitter." Now at last at the great waterfall, "Thunder-hill," the soul enters with its comrades into the city of the ancestors, where the dead who have passed this way before are performing the songs and dances of the Namakua festival.

There is a wind on Thunder-hill,
The breeze is scented with flowers.
As clear water flowing out of a spring
All my children are dancing;

and the wandering soul finds at last the repose for which he has longed:

I fall asleep in the quick-sand,
The sound of the singers and the drummers floats to me,
The sound of the spear-dance from the mountains.
The onlookers in delight climb one upon another to see.

So ends the "Pathway of the Shades" in the delights of the Happy Otherworld. On the whole, the story gets its material for dramatic handling out of the natural events and relations and duties of everyday life, coupled with the doctrine of a happy immortality with the gods. It emphasizes differences in rank, and recognizes the family group in its dealing with kindred and friends and the continuance of such relations in the after-life. The heroic soul, having safely passed the tests of the warrior class and the perils of old age, comes to the land of his ancestral gods, a land where delight in the dance mingles with a dreamy languor in which sight, sound, sense, seem as if wafted from afar in the thunder of many waters. Say the Fijians: "Death is easy. Of what use is life? To die is rest."

Bulotu, so well known in Tonga, Tahiti, Samoa and Fiji

as the paradise of the heroic dead, is not named in the records from the Hervey Islands, or from Hawaii, or from New Zealand. In the last two places, indeed, no definite cult of the happy dead has been recorded. The gist of the matter seems to be that, while for the majority of mankind the doctrine of immortality in Polynesia makes of the after-life a pretty dismal affair, there is a tendency, under the tutelage of an aristocratic priesthood, to project into the next life those benefits enjoyed by the upper classes in this world—not exactly as a reward for moral conduct as we use the word, but as the proper perquisite of rank, wealth and valor—and thus to offer to the nobility so strong an incentive to sustain their dignity on earth that the social framework, fundamentally based, as it is, on ancestral rank and upon the appropriation by the aristocracy of the good things of life, may not be suffered to decay.

Gill does indeed mention certain cults in the Hervey group which teach the doctrine of the Happy Other-world. Some say that for heroes who die in war there exists in the sky a happy world where heroes live garlanded with flowers in a perpetual round of enjoyment. Others affirm that those who can afford a sufficiently large propitiatory offering to Tiki, god of the underworld, may dwell with him in delight, drinking, dancing or sleeping, or telling stories of their achievements in life. Others again, by the same means, pass to the pleasant land of Iva, where all is abundance and ease.¹⁶ Some of the death chants collected by Gill in Mangaia reflect this idea. For example :

Speed then on thy journey to spirit-land,
There a profusion of garlands awaits thee.
There the breadfruit tree,
Pet son, is ever laden with fruit,
Yes, there the breadfruit
Is forever in season, my child.

¹⁶ Gill, *Myths and Songs from the Pacific*, pp. 160-175.

But on the whole, the underworld of Avaiki which the dead of the Hervey Islands inhabit is regarded in this group, even for chiefs, as a sad and silent land—

. . . a land of strange utterance
Like the sighs of the passing breeze;
Where the dance is performed in silence
And the gift of speech is unknown.

Even more poetical than the Fijian death cycle are the songs recorded by Gill which describe the voyage of the dead, following the pathway of the sun, into this silent underworld of Avaiki.¹⁷ Here realistic dramatization takes the place of the symbolic action of the Fijian cycle. The dead depart on the voyage only once a year, timing their departure by the position of the sun upon the horizon. Until that auspicious moment arrives, the souls of the dead are imagined to flit about the haunts of home. When the day comes, they huddle together at the point of departure, enter the canoe, and look their last upon the familiar scenes and friends on earth. Imaging to himself the scene out of the familiar experiences of everyday life, the composer describes it as if it were actually visible to his eyes. He watches the sad band on its way to the place of embarkation. Slowly it moves

. . . over yon black rocks near the sea,
Over the roughest and sharpest stones . . .
Stepping lightly on the sea-washed sand-stone;

or, guided by the chirp of crickets, with feet "entangled in wild vine," threads its way

. . . through groves of pandanus,
The favorite haunt of disembodied spirits.

Overtaken by night, the shades sit and weep. By day, they lament:

At one time a drizzling shower
Hides from view the heights of the interior,
At another we are sprinkled with ocean-spray.

¹⁷ Gill, *Myths and Songs from the Pacific*, pp. 152-159, 181-220.

So the dead pass to the “ghost-cave” and the “level beach laved by the sea,” where they await a breeze to waft them to spirit-land. Presently it comes—“a favoring breeze sweeps the entrance of the ghost-cave”—and the leader summons forth the ghostly band. Listeners may hear

The hum of spirits passing over the rocks
Crowding along the beach by Double-cave.

This is the final scene of parting:

The ghosts sorrowfully crowd round the spot
Whence the wings of the wind shall bear
Them to great spirit-land.

The mourning parents watch their child take his place in the canoe:

Very sorrowfully does he bend over it!
Take thy seat, son, in front,
Clothed in ghostly net-work,
And turn thy face to yonder land.

They invoke “the spirit-bearing winds”:

Gently waft him over the ocean.
Yonder is a frail bark . . .
Yes, yonder is a frail bark,
'Tis a canoe full of spirits from Mangaia
Hurried over the sea by fierce currents.

They call upon the southwest wind to “ruffle the sea,” upon the northwest to “awake”; then, imagining the bark far on its way and land fading from sight, they bid their dead child,

Glance fondly back on the hills and mountains
where thou wast born.

Still in imagination they follow the canoe on its perilous voyage to the point where the sun sets in the sea. They sing:

Veetini has gained the place where the sun drops down,
 Has fled! Oh, all-dividing spirit-world!
 Alas, he follows thy track,
 Yes, he follows thy dazzling light
 As thou gently settest in the ocean.
 Thrust down the sun
 That he may gently descend to nether-land.

Fancy again carries the mourning parents to the scene
 of arrival at Avaiki, where

The denizens will be astonished
 At the arrival of you, pet children,

they boast mournfully.

In reading these fragments, it is necessary to recall that the dramatic representation of the scene is fully carried out in the form of the song, which is sung as alternate solo and chorus and divided formally into introduction, refrain or "foundation," and "off-shoots." The part is taken now of one actor in the scene, now of another, solo and chorus linking into each other rather than representing each a different actor. Sometimes there are two answering refrains, as in the dirge for Vera, where the reiterated "Halt, Vera, on thy journey!" is answered by the irrevocable

I go far away, mother,
 By a perilous path to spirit-land.

The same dramatic way of handling the song is observable in the Fijian song cycle; but the translator has not indicated the transitions from question to answer, and hence we do not know how they were actually performed. Again, the Fijian mourner, when he symbolizes the journey of the soul, thinks of it as a land journey; the Mangaian, as a voyage over seas. And in the Mangaian cycle the idea of a Happy Otherworld as the reward of heroes has not become so clearly crystallized into a cult as in the Fiji group.

In New Zealand and Hawaii the case is somewhat dif-

ferent. Hawaiki, in New Zealand, is believed to be the lost land of origin from which the gods migrated to people New Zealand, and to which the souls of heroes return after death. Says the Maori proverb, "The road to Hawaiki is cut; only the dead may find the way thither." It appears in the songs, however, not as a sad underworld nor yet in the trappings of an earthly paradise, but as the island upon the summit of whose mountain-top rested the canoe of the survivors after the flood¹⁸ and out of the soil of which the god Kane moulded the first man and the first woman. One song runs, "Shape the children at Hawaiki."¹⁹ According to the Maori migration legends recorded by Grey,²⁰ just as the Tongan gods left Bulotu to people the Tongan group, so the Maori heroes sailed from their original home in Hawaiki to people New Zealand. But the conception of the place seems somewhat different. The origin of the word "Hawaiki" is still in dispute among Polynesian scholars. There is clearly some relation between *Hawaiki* in the Maori flood legend and the underworld of *Avaiki* in the emergence myth of Mangaia; both are cradle-lands of a group to which the souls of the dead return. The name is identical with that of the island *Savai'i* in Samoa, of *Hawai'i* in Hawaii, perhaps also of *Tahiti* in the Society group. It is pretty clear that, sometime in the history of the name, the *Tiki*, or ancestral gods of the Polynesians, have played their part.²¹ But it is not evident that the idea of a Bulotu, or Earthly Paradise, was originally attached to it, nor does the conception of a Happy Otherworld, so far as I am aware, occur in Maori story.

¹⁸ John White, *Ancient History of the Maori, his Mythology and Traditions*, New Zealand, 1887, I, p. 177. Cf. Abraham Fornander, *An Account of the Polynesian Race*, London, 1878, I, p. 20, where a Marquesan chant makes "Hawa-ii" appear after the flood.

¹⁹ White, I, pp. 159, 165.

²⁰ George Grey, *Polynesian Mythology and Ancient Tradition of the Polynesian Race*, Auckland, ed. 2, 1885, pp. 76 ff.

²¹ W. H. R. Rivers, "The Statues of Easter Island," *Folk-lore*, XXXI, 1920, p. 306. Cf. Augustin Krämer, *Die Samoan Inseln*, Stuttgart, 1902, I, p. 44.

In Hawaii, on the contrary, we find recurring, in connection with a cult of the dead about which we have little information, a myth of the lost land of origin which has all the setting of a Happy Otherworld. It is called most often in the ancient chants *Kalana-i-Hau-ola* (perhaps "Heaven of life-giving dew"), but it is also named "Land-in-the-heart-of-the-god" and "Land-of-the-sacred-water-of-the-god"—that "water of life" so often referred to in Hawaiian song. *Pali-uli* is the name by which this lost land remains endeared to Hawaiians today in popular song and romance. Fornander writes as follows:

The Hawaiian traditions are eloquent upon the beauty and excellence of the particular land or place of residence of the two first created human beings. It was situated in a large country or continent. . . . The tradition says of "Paliuli" that it was "a sacred tabued land; that a man must be righteous to attain it; that he must prepare himself exceedingly holy who wishes to attain it; if faulty or sinful, he will not get there; if he looks behind he will not get there; if he prefers his family, he will not enter in Paliuli." Part of an ancient chant thus describes it:

O Pali-uli, hidden land of Kane,
Land in Kalana-i-Hau-ola,
In Kahiki-ku, in Kapakapa-ua-a-Kane,
Land with springs of water, fat and moist,
Land greatly enjoyed by the god.

. . . "The living water of Kane" is frequently referred to in Hawaiian folk-lore. According to traditions this spring of life, or living water, was a running stream or overflowing spring attached to or enclosed in a pond. "It was beautifully transparent and clear. Its banks were splendid. It had three outlets; one for Ku, one for Kane, and one for Lono, and through these outlets the fish entered in the pond. If the fish of the pond were thrown on the ground or on the fire, they did not die; and if a man had been killed and was afterwards sprinkled over with this water, he did soon come to life again." . . . Among other adornments of the Polynesian paradise, the "*Kalana-i-Hau-ola*," there grew the *Ulu kapu a Kane*, the "tabued breadfruit tree," and the *Ohia Hemolele*, "the sacred apple-tree."²²

²² Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, I, pp. 77-79.

The Paliuli myth has not been much discussed by Hawaiian scholars, but this description sounds like a celestial paradise belonging to that lower zone of the sky-worlds in which clouds hang and from which come the rains. According to Fornander, again,²³ the race was driven thence to Hawaii by "the large white bird of Kane," a figurative expression often used for clouds. The name *Pali-uli* itself means literally "Blue precipice," or "Blue sky wall," an appellation very applicable to the sheer walls of sky-land. In the Hawaiian story of the search for the water of life, as it appears in the ancient and treasured romance of *Aukele-nui-aiku*, the hero wings his way through the air in imminent peril, should he deflect his course to right or left, of falling into space and wallowing there with no path to guide him—a fate which eventually befalls him and from which he is rescued only by clinging to Grandmother Moon, who puts him back upon the right track again.²⁴ Ask an old Hawaiian today where is Paliuli and he will smile and point skyward.

But however this may be, when the romancers of Hawaii pictured the gods come down to earth, they also brought down thither their garden of delight. The Paliuli of Hawaiian story is no longer a remote sky-world. It lies in the deep forest of Puna, on Hawaii, a night's climb up from the beach. It is an earthly paradise, full of every good thing, but a vanished land visible to none since the days of the heroes. There cling to it some of the mysterious attributes of faerie. It is a land of magical mists—mists which may still be seen obscuring the uplands of Puna; and its denizens have more than mortal attributes. It is in Paliuli that the old witch Uli digs up the magic canoe in which to pursue the ravisher of Hina.²⁵ In Paliuli is reared the magic boy, born in the shape of an egg, who

²³ Fornander, *Account of the Polynesian Race*, I, p. 82.

²⁴ Fornander *Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore* (*Memoirs of the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum*, Honolulu, T. H., 1916, IV, pp. 82-97).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

in ten days becomes a beautiful child and in forty days is eating a whole bunch of bananas at a meal—a feat easily managed in Paliuli, where

the sugar-cane grew until it lay flat, the hogs until the tusks were long, the cocks until the spurs were long and sharp, and the dogs until their backs were flattened out.²⁶

But by far the most famous story of Paliuli in Hawaiian romance is that of the girl Laieikawai, of whom the popular song runs,

Behold Laieikawai
In the uplands of Paliuli,
Beautiful, beautiful,
The storied one of the uplands,
Perhaps resting at peace
To the melodious voices of birds.²⁷

It is the most important also for our purpose. For it is in the story of this beautiful and willful girl, her lovers, her disgrace and her final triumph and deification, that we discover in Polynesia the details of the theme so common in European romance, of the Fairy Mistress against the background of the Happy Otherworld. The girl is reared by the witch grandmother in Paliuli, where she lives in a house thatched with yellow bird feathers such as only chiefs employ, is ministered to by birds upon whose wings she rests (on the clouds, no doubt, in the original myth of Sky-land), and in general enjoys the happiness of an Earthly Paradise without labor. Says the story,

While they dwelt there, never did they weary of life; never did they even see the one who prepared them food, or the food itself save when at meal-time the birds brought them food and cleared away the remnants when they had made an end. So Paliuli became to them a land beloved.

²⁶ *Fornander Collection of Hawaiian Antiquities and Folk-lore*, p. 498.

²⁷ S. N. Haleole, *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, with an introduction and translation from the Hawaiian by Martha Beckwith, *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute*, Washington, 1911-1912, p. 294.

Still further, the action of the story corresponds in general to the machinery of a fairy mistress tale—or rather tales, for the plot is evidently composite. Among other threads, there is a lover lured to the lady by a dream; there is a monstrous lizard guardian which awakens from an afternoon nap to swallow down whole hosts sent against it by the despairing wooer; and there is a maiden messenger of particular skill and adroitness who is sent on a journey across seas, seated within the jaws of the lizard, to fetch, as a husband for her mistress, a chief of the highest taboo rank where he lives lolling within the very center of the sun,—with whose appearance there follows vengeance upon those who have caused her shame and, subsequently, the disaffection of the lover and his banishment to the realm of ghosts.²⁸

In this Hawaiian romance we have an extended and romantic treatment of a theme very common in Polynesian story—that of the Fairy Mistress who descends to earth to wed a mortal or who lures a mortal into her own domain. A special interest here lies in the fact that the Otherworld background is treated as an Earthly Paradise and regarded as a place of nurture, from which the goddess retires after her marriage. The same thing happens in the Hawaiian story of the supernatural hero who is brought up in Paliuli.²⁹ He leaves the garden and goes out into the world in order to secure a wife, and from that day he loses sight of Paliuli. All men lose sight of it. Just as Bulotu or Hawaiki are regarded as cradle-lands of the race—lands peopled by the gods and which they left to live on earth and bring forth the demigods—so Paliuli carries with it a strict, if sometimes ambiguous, taboo of chastity, and is lost after the period of restraint is broken.³⁰

²⁸ Haleole, *The Hawaiian Romance of Laieikawai*, pp. 285-666.

²⁹ See note 26.

³⁰ The parallel is close to the story of Eden. One gets very strongly the impression from the story of Eve and the serpent (and its primitive analogues), that the disobedience for which Eve was driven out of the garden was the breaking of a chastity taboo.

One has only to turn the pages of Polynesian story-books to discover how common a theme is that of the Fairy Mistress in Polynesia. It belongs, indeed, with the Polynesian's way of regarding the interrelations between gods and men. He believes in a spirit-world peopled by beings of more than mortal power and perfection, between whom and man there was in the old days easy communication. He believes that the social system which governs the relations of men on earth, is derived from that which governs the gods in spirit-land, and that rank depends upon the mingling of gods with men; hence the consistency with which heroes in Polynesia derive their birth from some visitation of the gods. This belief must have been strengthened by the old habits of migration and travel which brought together chieftains from different groups and introduced new customs and objects of luxury whose rarity easily made them seem of more than mortal derivation. Rank does really mean deity in Polynesia, and he who would prove his rank must display either unusual talent of some kind to prove his kinship with gods, or objects of culture which he has received at the hands of his divine kindred. Hence tales are common which tell of adventures, in the heavens or in some spirit-land, of a hero in quest of such an inheritance or bent upon a divine marriage.

There is a Maori story sometimes told of the hero Tawhaki, sometimes of his grandfather, of an amorous divinity who, captivated by reports of the hero's prowess, makes the eager descent from Sky-land only to find him as a husband disappointing. One version opens as follows:

Tawhaki was a man of this earth. Hapai observed his noble bearing and came down at night and found him asleep. She gently lifted his covering and lay down beside him. He thought she was a woman of this world, but ere the dawn of day she had disappeared and had gone up to heaven.

The goddess is finally offended and leaves her mortal husband. In one version, he loses her by complaining when

she gives him their child to clean. In another, she hears her husband outside the house gossiping about her. A neighbor asks, "What is that woman who lives with you like?" He says, "Her skin is like the wind, her skin is like the snow!" The goddess departs, and the adventures of the grandson in rejoining his grandmother in the heavens form a famous Maori epic.³¹

Grey tells a pretty Maori story of "the maiden of Roturua"—how she fell in love with the hero at a feast, how the lovers arranged a signal by which she should come to him at night when he blew upon a horn, and how night after night she listened to his piping, unable to escape to him because her father had put a guard over the canoes, until finally, like a brave girl and a feminine Leander, she swam across the sea to him and hid under the rocks of his bathing-pool.³² All this, with the coy manner in which she discovered herself to her lover, although told circumstantially of certain well-known Maori families of rank, sounds much like a humanized Fairy Mistress story of an amorous goddess. The identical story related by Grey from the Maori, is told also in Hawaii; but here the girl follows the notes of the flute through a wild storm up into the mountains. I have heard an old Hawaiian chant with eyes shining with excitement the song which the chief played to draw her thither.

Compare with these more sophisticated stories of the flute player's wooing, Gill's account of the first peopling of Mangaia. Watea and Tu-papa, the first man and woman, are made out of the side of Vari, the old woman who crouches, chin against knee, at the narrow root of Avaiki in the underworld. The boy succeeds in climbing out into the realm of day. There he dreams of a beautiful woman, which dream-apparition of Tu-papa he succeeds in entrapping by scattering a quantity of cocoanut-meat

³¹ White, *Ancient History of the Maori*, I, pp. 95-97, 115-132. Cf. Roland B. Dixon, *Oceanica*, p. 64 (*The Mythology of All Races*, IX, Boston, 1916), where Mr. Dixon identifies these Maori stories with the Swan-maiden theme.

³² Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 146-152.

at the entrance to the cavern out of which he has seen her emerge.³³ Mangaia "Death-talks," too, sometimes speak of the souls of the dead as if they had been wooed away by love. A late one (dated 1817) begins,

Varenga, who came from the "sun-rising,"
In spirit-land is now wed.
She was wooed by a shadow;
Such was my dream on the mountain.

Legend also in this group of islands tells of fairy men and women who dwell in Netherworld and come up to earth to dance and sing with mortals.³⁴ These are beings always beautiful and decked with flowers. One song runs as follows:

I love the fragrance of the flowers
In Auparu, from fairy women
Arraying themselves by starlight,
Whilst Ina of the moon looks on.

Ina, the moon goddess, is herself one of the immortals who chose a husband among the heroes of earth, the story of her journey to wed Tinirau, chief of the Sacred Isle in the land of shades, being one of the most famous of Polynesian epics.³⁵ Another of Gill's stories tells how the "peerless one of Ati" was caught in a net at the fountain through which she was accustomed to pass on her way between upper and nether earth, and became the progenitor of the Ati race at Rarotonga. She was white, like all fairies, but, says the narrator, "strangely enough, her descendants are dark like ordinary mortals."³⁶

In these stories and others common in Polynesia,³⁷ we recognize all the familiar elements of the conventional

³³ Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, pp. 7-8.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 256-264.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-94.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 265-267.

³⁷ Cf. Mariner's account of the island of immortal women, and of the visit to Tonga of Langi's two daughters from Sky-land, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, II, pp. 116-120.

Celtic Fairy Mistress tale. From the spirit-world—either descending from heaven or ascending from underground according to the cosmological conceptions of the group—come the supernatural wooers; and it is evident that the wish to boast a streak of celestial blue-blood in the veins is a powerful stimulus to the poetical imagination, and condones, among excellent Polynesian social circles, the somewhat irregular methods of these fairy marriages. And as romance has taken hold of the imagination and a good story has traveled from group to group, it has been found convenient to localize on earth that celestial realm from which the deity emerged and to describe it with all the conventionalized detail of the Earthly Paradise as it has become popularized by repetition. Such is the Hawaiian Paliuli.

On the other hand it must not be forgotten that in detail the Happy Otherworld as it is described in Polynesian romance is merely an exaggerated reproduction of the actual surroundings of the high chiefs in some parts of Polynesia, who enjoy, as the perquisite of rank, all the material advantages possible to their state of culture. In the forested uplands we recognize the sacred groves planted about the homes of chiefs in certain Polynesian groups. The chiefs gather about them the experts in dance and song. To the chiefs belong the sweet-scented flowers. All the land is theirs and the sea also and what they yield; hence the chiefs are royally fed with the best of everything. To call a man a big eater in Hawaii is the same as to compliment his rank. If he lives in the shaded uplands, he has swift runners who fetch fish for his breakfast out of the walled fishponds of his seaside preserves. Even the Tongan story of the gods drinking *awa* beneath the “talking tree” which calls out the order in which the cup shall be passed, sounds much like accounts of ceremonial feasts in Samoa, where the drink circulates according to a strict etiquette of rank.³⁸ The “water of life” also suggests some esoteric idea, perhaps connected with an erotic

³⁸ Krämer, *Die Samoan Inseln*, I, pp. 18-22.

cult like the Areois society.³⁹ However this may be, both Bulotu and Paliuli, as described in song and story, merely present the picture of such economic luxury as was actually enjoyed by Polynesian chiefs. Add to such detail as was drawn from the actual life of the people the part that migration and conquest must have played in freeing the mind from the direct realization of these delights and thus throwing it back upon the idealization of memory; and there might easily result the wistful notion of a cradle-land of origin or of up-rearing, peopled by ancestral gods and destined eventually to become the reward of successful living.

And just as the Polynesian conception of the Happy Otherworld hovers between the real and the mystical, the actual and the symbolic, so the Celtic poet, in such material symbols as the boat of glass, the supernatural messenger who goes and comes from fairyland, the steed breasting the waves, the branch of golden apples, indicates the gulf between that land of magic and this of earth. But to him, as to the Fijian on the road to Kautavandra, no doubt the line between symbol and reality is very thin and the incidents of the way, though distinctly symbolic, present a real picture of actual conditions to the imagination. However we may be inclined to press the parallel further and to find for the Irish fidelity tests, the horn and the garment from the "Lord of Underseas," as well as for the magic paraphernalia of guardian beasts and champions at the ford, a similar background in cult ceremonial, we are obliged to admit that it is impossible to prove this by analogy alone. The incidents may well be free story material absorbed into the cycle and interpreted symbolically or realistically according as the taste of the story-teller was for romance or for morality. Cer-

³⁹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, I, pp. 229-247. To the "water of life" reference is frequently made in Polynesian poetry. For the most striking of such references in Hawaii, see the story referred to in note 24, and the song quoted by Mr. N. B. Emerson, *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii, the Sacred Songs of the Hula* (*Bulletin 38 of the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institute*, Washington, 1909, pp. 257-259).

tainly the shifting geography of the Celtic Earthly Paradise is reproduced in Polynesia; and in Polynesia, also, springs are likely enough places for fairies to appear out of, not because of a "cult of Diana" but simply because they are thought of as affording communication with the underworld out of which they flow.

When all is said, however, to explain how Polynesian Otherworld and Fairy Mistress stories naturally took shape, there remains a trace of identity with the Celtic, hard to account for on any other basis than transmission from some common stock of ideas from which both Celt and Polynesian drew, either by inheritance or as a result of contact. Even allowing for such a common source, we must admit a subsequent independent and native growth, during which ideas drawn from this common source became part of the current imaginative material of the stock and took on particular forms in different groups within the Polynesian area, in harmony with the special interests within each group, but preserving also a singular identity with the desire of all mankind for an immortal love in this world and immortal happiness in a life beyond the grave.

THE DRY TREE: SYMBOL
OF DEATH



BY ROSE JEFFRIES PEEBLES

THE DRY TREE: SYMBOL OF DEATH

IN the thirteenth century the legend of the Dry Tree was extraordinarily popular. The Dry Tree itself was located definitely by the voyagers, it was placed on maps, it gave its name to the Paris street, the "Rue de l'Arbre-Sec,"¹ which was constructed in part at this time, it is believed, and which, according to tradition, took its name from a sign that was still to be seen on an old house near St. Germain l'Auxerrois as late as 1660.

It may seem a far cry from a mediæval signpost to a pre-Christian symbol of death, but something like such a progression, or retrogression, is revealed to the examiner of the legend of the Dry Tree in its development from its first recorded appearance before it has become dry, on a Babylonian cylinder seal of 2000 B. C., now to be seen in the British Museum, to its use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries to indicate a definite locality visited by holy pilgrims and adventurous knights. Since the beginning of time man has attempted to explain the presence of death in the world, and has likewise sought to find some escape from the recognition of this devastating blight to the enjoyment of life while it lasts, by the explanation that death is due to a mistake which can be corrected. The correction will then do away with the everlastingness of death. And so he has comforted himself by connecting the symbols of death which he has devised with corresponding emblems of his hope of survival after death. The story which accounts for the entrance of death into the world becomes, therefore, in time the mystic proto-

¹ F. and L. Lazare, *Dictionnaire des rues et monuments de Paris*, Paris, ed. 2, p. 167.

type of the coming of life. The story of the Dry Tree is of interest since it illustrates with beautiful concreteness the stages of this effort on the part of our primitive ancestors in the early ages of the world to explain what is most difficult for the human being of any time to understand. By the somewhat ironic operation of the curious law which is always confronting the worker in the evolution of story material with what comes to be an expected surprise, the symbolic is read in the course of time by some literal-minded, or insufficiently informed, individual or generation and is henceforth made a concrete fact. This common, but always thought-arresting, phenomenon occurs in the history of the Dry Tree. So the symbol conceived by the imagination in its effort to illustrate death, and finally immortality, becomes a literal tree to be visited by voyagers.

§1

Any traveler was famous in the Middle Ages who had been to the Dry Tree. Knights and pilgrims claimed the honor. It is said to have marked the eastern extremity of the known world; but the writers of the period, as the following extracts reveal, show no agreement as to its situation. Its significance as "the back of beyond," or the holiest of holy places, is perhaps sufficiently indicated by the frequently recurring phrase, "even to the Dry Tree." In the thirteenth century *Jus du Pelerin*, the "pelerin" boasts of his wanderings:

Bien a trente et chienc ans que je n'ai aresté,
 S'ai puis en maint bon lieu et à maint saint esté,
 S'ai esté au *Sec-Arbre* et dusc'à Duresté;
 Dieu grasci qui m'en a sens et pooir presté.
 Si fui en Famenie, en Surie et en Tir;
 S'alai en un país où on est si entier
 Que on i muert errant quant on i veut mentir,
 Et si est tout quemun.²

² L. J. N. Monmerqué et F. X. Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, Paris, 1842, p. 97.

In the *Roman du Comte de Poitiers*, also of the thirteenth century, Constantine makes the threat that if the amiral does not release his uncle he will destroy everything even to the Dry Tree.³ Again in a later romance, *Li Bastars de Buillon*, of the fourteenth century the emphasis is the same:

“Bauduins li gentis, de Jherusalem roys;
li linages du Chisne vous a mis en maus plois,
Vo terre en ert perdue, abatue vo lois;
Desci jusqu’au *Sec Arbre* n’arés un soel tornois,”
Si faitement disoit le poeples beneois.⁴

Still more impressive does it become when it appears in such a list as that in which The World, in the *Castell of Perseverance*, enumerates the lands that are his:

Assarye, Acaye, and Almayne,
Canadoyse, Capadoyse, and Cananee,
Babyloyne, Brabon, Burgoyne, and Bretayne,
Grece, Galys and to þe Gryckysch see;
I meue also Massadoyne in my mykyl mayne,
Frauns, Flaundrys, and Freslonde, and also Normande,
Pyncecras, Parys, and longe Pygmayne,
And euery toun in Trage, euyng to þe *dreye tre*,
Rodis and ryche Rome,
All þese londis, at myn a-vyse
Arn castyn to my werdly wyse;
My tresoror, Syr Coueytyse,
Hath sesyd hem holy to me.⁵

Somewhat more interesting than such lists of names are two other passages. The first, one of the earliest in the romances, is that which occurs in *Li Jus de Saint Nicholai*, by Jean Bodel, written in the first half of the thirteenth century. Here the *Émir de l’Arbre Sec* is a character of dramatic importance. The King of Africa has called his lords together to assist him in war against the Christians.

³ Ed. Francisque Michel, Paris, 1831, pp. 54, 68.

⁴ Ed. A. Scheler, Brussels, 1877, p. 9.

⁵ *E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser.*, XCI, 1904, p. 82.

All respond. Among them are the "amiraus" del Coine, d'Orkenie, d'Oliferne and du *Sec-Arbre*. By a miracle, the king is converted to Christianity. A Christian prisoner, accused of stealing the king's treasure and condemned to death, is granted a day in which he prays successfully to Saint Nicholas, who appears to the thieves and forces them to return their spoil. On finding that the treasure has been marvelously increased, the king believes in Saint Nicholas, renounces Mahomet, and insists that his retainers follow his example. *Sec Arbre* alone resists, and in a lively scene in which he is baptized by force he bravely asserts to Saint Nicholas his steady allegiance to Mahomet:

Sains Nicolais, c'est maugré mien
Que je vous aoure, et par forche.
De moi n'arés-vous fors l'escorche :
Par parole devieng vostre hom ;
Mais li creanche est en Mahom.⁶

The second reference is found in Machaut's *Dit du Lion* (1342) in a sprightly episode in which the claims of the lovers are described when they take leave of their ladies :

Et quant venoit au congié prendre,
Il n'estoient pas a aprendre,
Eins disoient, savés comment ?
"Ma dame, a vous me recommant !
Vous poués seur moy commender
Et moy penre sens demender ;
Car vostre sui entierement
Pour faire vo commandement."
Atant se partoient de la.
Après chascuns disoit : "Vela
Celui qui vainqui la bataille
Entre Irlande et Cornuaille."
L'autre disoit : "Par saint Thommas !
Mais plus : il revient de Damas,
D'Anthioche, de Damiette,

⁶ Monmerqué et Michel, *Théâtre français au moyen âge*, p. 207.

D'Acre, de Baruch, de Sajette,
 De Sardinay, de Siloë,
 De la monteinge Gilboë,
 De Sion, dou mont de Liban,
 De Nazareth, de Taraban,
 De Josaphat, de Champ Flori,
 Et d'Eseauvaire ou Dieu mori,
 Tout droit, et de Jherusalem.
 Dieu pri qu'il le gart de mal an.
 Car s'il vit, c'iert un Alixandre."
 —"Aussi fu il en Alixandre,"
 Dit l'autre, "en en mont Synaï."
 Et l'autre disoit: "Si n'a y
 Homme qui a li se compere,
 Ne dont tant de bien nous appere.
Car il fu jusqu'a l'Aubre Sec,
Ou li oisil pendent au bec."
 Et quant les dames en öoient
 Le bien dire, et si l'i trouvoient,
 Plus les en devoient par droit
 Encherir selone leur endroit.⁷

§2

The tales of the voyagers supplement these references drawn from the dramas and romances of the period, in which the interest is confined more or less to the geographical location of the Dry Tree. Oderic de Pordenone (1286-1331), who places the Dry Tree on the mount of Mamre not far from Hebron, says that the tree has stood there since the beginning of the world, and that it died when Christ was crucified. The account in Mandeville,⁸ based, according to Bovenschen,⁹ on Oderic, is that which is best known.

And .ij. myle from Ebron is the graue of loth þat was Abrahames broþer. And a lytill fro Ebron is the mount of Mambre, of the

⁷ *Œuvres, Société des anciens textes français*, 1911, II, pp. 208-209.

⁸ For authorship, see P. Hamelius, *Quarterly Review*, April, 1917; J. E. Wells, *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, Yale Press, 1916.

⁹ *Johann von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung*, *Zt. für Erdkunde*, XXIII, 1888, p. 238.

which the valeye taketh his name, And þere is a tree of Oke þat the Sarazines clepen *Dirpe* þat is of Abrahames tyme, the which men clepen the *drye tree*. And þei seye þat it hath ben þere sithe the begynnynge of the world, and was sumtyme grene and bare leues vnto the tyme þat oure lord dyede on the cros And þanne it dryede and so diden all the trees þat weren þanne in the world . . . And summe seyn be here prophecyes þat a lord, a Prince of the west syde of the world schall wynnen the lond of promyscioun þat is the holy lond with helpe of cristene men and he schall do synge a masse vnder þat *drye tree* and þan the tree schall wexen grene and bere bothe fruyt and leues. And þorgh þat myracle manye Sarazines and Jewes schull ben turned to cristene feyth.¹⁰

The prophecy concerning the Prince of the West is not found, it will be noted, in Oderic. Bovenschen thinks Mandeville based this portion of his narrative on the popular story of Frederick Barbarossa, of which there were many versions in the fourteenth century.¹¹ Two German poems of the century speak of Frederick's coming again: when he hangs his shield on the Dry Tree it will become green, and he will win the Holy Sepulchre.

so wirt das *vrlewg also gross*,
 nymand kan ez gestillen,
 so kumpt sich *kayser Fridrich* der her vnd auch der milt,
 er vert dort her durch gotes willen,
 an einen *dürren pawm* so *henkt er seinen schilt*,
 so wirt die vart hin uber mer . . .
 er vert dort hin zum *dürren pawm* an alles widerhap
 dar an so *henkt er seinen schilt*,
 er *grunet unde pirt*:
 so wirt *gewun daz heilig grap*,
 daz nymmer swert darup gezogen wirt.¹²

The oak of Mamre was, however, famous ages before the thirteenth century. Oderic simply adds to the well-established tradition of a holy tree the explanation that

¹⁰ *Mandeville's Travels*, E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser., CLIII, 1919, pp. 44, 45.

¹¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 4 Ausg., II Bd., ss. 797-802.

¹² *Ibid.*, s. 799. Cf. also Alfred Bassermann, *Veltro, Gross-Chan und Kaisersage*, *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, XI, 1902, pp. 52, 53, and R. Schroeder, *Die Deutsche Kaisersage*, 1893, pp. 22, 23.

the tree died when Christ was crucified. The process of Christianization was begun long before. As early as the seventh century Arculf records that the tombs of Abram, Isaac, Jacob and Adam are to be found at Hebron, and that there is still to be seen the stump of the oak of Mamre, which is also called the oak of Abraham because under it he received the angels. Arculf cites St. Jerome as his authority for saying that the oak has stood there from the beginning of the world. Early in the twelfth century Saewulf¹³ gives practically the same account, adding the wives of the patriarchs to the list of those buried in the holy place. However, in his version the oak still flourishes.

These explanations by the pilgrims of the sanctity of the tree in turn replace earlier ones. The oak of Mamre was one of the most famous of the sacred oaks venerated from remote ages. If in later times the worship of trees was denounced by the Hebrew prophets, there is evidence that Jehovah himself was associated with them earlier. God appeared to Abraham in the likeness of three men under the oak of Mamre. Eusebius¹⁴ testifies that the tree remained there until his time, early in the fourth century, and was still revered as divine. He refers to a holy picture representing the three mysterious guests who partook of Abraham's hospitality under the tree. The middle one of the three figures, which excelled the others in honor, he identified with the Lord himself.

A most interesting document for the present study is a description by the church historian, Sozomenus, of the festival held at the sacred tree down to the time of Constantine:

¹³ *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. Wright, London, 1848, pp. 7, 45. It is curious to note that this type of story persisted as late as the sixteenth century. Sir Richard Gylforde, in his *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* (Camden Society Publications, 1857), repeats the story of Abraham and the angels, but adds that the tree is now "wasted," and that another tree has sprung from the root of the old one.

¹⁴ Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, XXII, 384. Cf. J. G. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 1918, III, p. 57.

I must now relate the decree which the Emperor Constantine passed with regard to what is called the oak of Mamre . . . It is a true tale that with the angels sent against the people of Sodom the Son of God appeared to Abraham and told him of the birth of his son. There every year a famous festival is still held in summer time by the people of the neighborhood as well as by the inhabitants of the more distant parts of Palestine and by the Phoenicians and Arabians. Very many also assemble for trade, to buy and sell; for every one sets great store on the festival. The Jews do so because they pride themselves on Abraham as their founder; the Greeks do so on account of the visit of the angels; and the Christians do so also because there appeared at that time to the pious man One who in after ages made himself manifest through the Virgin for the salvation of mankind. Each, after the manner of his faith, does honour to the place, some praying to the God of all, some invoking the angels and pouring wine, or offering incense, or an ox, or a goat, or a sheep, or a cock . . . But at the time of the festival no one draws water from the well. For, after the Greek fashion, some set burning lamps there; others poured wine on it, or threw in cakes, money, perfumes or incense. On that account, probably, the water was rendered unfit to drink by being mixed with the things thrown into it. The performance of these ceremonies according to Greek ritual was reported to the Emperor Constantine by his wife's mother who had gone to the place in fulfillment of a vow.¹⁵

“Thus it appears,” says Frazer, “that at Hebron an old heathen worship of the sacred tree and the sacred well survived in full force down to the establishment of Christianity.”

Following the line just explored backward as far as it is traceable, then, we find a voyager's story attached to the usual pilgrim's account of a journey to the Holy Land. The pilgrim's account, in turn, reveals the fact that a Christian legend has supplanted a local pre-Christian explanation of the fame of a special tree—the oak of Mamre—which was worshiped in earliest times as a sacred tree.

¹⁵ Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, III, pp. 59, 60. Sozomenus (fifth century), *Hist. Eccles.*, II, 4. Migne, *Patrol. Graeca*, LXVII, 941, 944.

§3

The tradition examined places the tree in Hebron and identifies it with the celebrated oak of Mamre. Another early voyager, Marco Polo (c. 1254-1324), locates it differently:

When you depart from this City of Cobinan, you find yourself again in a Desert of surpassing aridity, which lasts for some eight days; here are neither fruits nor trees to be seen, and what water there is is bitter and bad, so that you have to carry both food and water . . . At the end of those eight days you arrive at a Province which is called Tonocain. It has a good many towns and villages, and forms the extremity of Persia towards the North. It also contains an immense plain on which is found the *Arbre Sol*, which we Christians call the *Arbre Sec*; and I will tell you what it is like. It is a tall and thick tree, having the bark on one side green and the other white; and it produces a rough husk like that of a chestnut, but without anything in it. The wood is yellow like box, and very strong, and there are no other trees near it, nor within a hundred miles of it, except on one side, where you find trees within about ten miles' distance. And there, the people of the country tell you, was fought the battle between Alexander and King Darius.¹⁶

The celebrated tree is found also on maps in the Middle Ages. Those of the fifteenth century, such as those of Andrea Bianco (1436) and Fra Mauro (1459), on which the Dry Tree is found, may be ascribed to the influence of Marco Polo's own work. But the Dry Tree appears also on the thirteenth-century Hereford map by Richard de Haldingham. It is placed in the vicinity of India and the Terrestrial Paradise. The tree is marked with the rubric, "*Albor Balsami est Arbor Sicca.*"¹⁷

¹⁶ *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, pp. 127-128. The editors call attention to the variation of these terms found in the different texts; for instance, Pauthier has here "*L'Arbre Solque*, que nous appelons *L'Arbre Sec*," and in a later passage "*L'Arbre Seul*, que le *Livre Alexandre* appelle *Arbre Sec*." See also the editors' notes for other places mentioned in oriental travels as possessing *dry trees*, such as Tabriz, Tauris.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, pp. 133, 134. The original is in Hereford Cathedral. An excellent reproduction is found in Santarem.

§4

So far the location of the Dry Tree and the spread of the legend by the romancers and travelers have been considered. Of the significance of the tree—the reason why it was used by the writers—nothing has hitherto been said. Another type of description than that used by the travelers or the pilgrims without doubt accounts better for the fame of the tree. It was seen by Alexander, by Bors in a dream, and by Seth when he was sent by Adam to Paradise for the oil of mercy. And these visions of the tree, though different, are all symbolic. Equating them brings us to something like a clear point.

In the various versions of the Alexander story the tree is found connected with the trees of the sun and moon, a connection that is not without importance. In the *Wars of Alexander*, for instance, Alexander is asked by the god whom he finds reclining on a bed if he wishes to learn his fate from the trees of the sun and moon. When he replies that he does, he is straightway taken through a wood to a bare tree on which sits a phoenix.

- (1. 4978) *Pai fande a ferly faire tre : quare-on na frute groued,
 Was void of all hire verdure : and vacant of leues,
 A hundreth fote and a halfe : It had of lezt large,
 With-uten bark ouþir bast : full of bare pirnes.
 Þar bade a brid on a boghe : a-bofe in þe topp,
 Was of a port of a paa : with sike a proude crest,
 With bathe þe chekis and þe chauly : as a chykin brid,
 And all gilden was hire gorg : with golden fethirs,
 All hire hames be-hind : was hewid as a purpure.
 And all þe body and þe brest : and on þe bely vndire
 Was finely florischt and faire : with frekild pennys,
 Of gold graynes and of goules : full of gray mascles.*

* * * * * * *

Zone is a fereles foule : a Fenix we calle.¹⁸

After this unexplained sight, Alexander is conducted to

¹⁸ *The Wars of Alexander* (1400-1450), translated chiefly from the *Historia Alexandri Magni de Preliis* (tenth century), ed. W. W. Skeat, *E. E. T. S., Ex. Ser.*, XLVII, 1886.

the sun-tree, which is like gold, and the moon-tree, which is like silver. The sun-tree tells him he will not return home, the moon-tree that he will die in twenty months.

This episode of the Dry Tree appears very early in the development of the Alexander romances. Indeed, one of the most elaborate accounts is found in the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes which is dated between the fifth and the tenth centuries.¹⁹ The figure reclining on the couch is here called Dionysus. "An effulgence shot forth from him like the lightening flash. Over him was spread a garment worked with gold and emeralds and other precious stones in the form of a vine. . . ."²⁰ Nothing is said, however, of the trees of the sun and moon, though Alexander later sees them. The Dry Tree with the phoenix in its boughs he had seen before he reached the temple: "And in the midst of that place there was a bird sitting upon a tree without leaves and without fruit, and it had upon its head something like the rays of the sun, and they called the bird the 'palm-bird' (phoenix)."²¹ The tenth-century Latin version by the Archpresbyter Leo also contains a brief account of the tree "quae non habebat fructum neque folia" and the bird "quae habebat super caput suum lucentes radios sicut sol."²²

The two trees found by Alexander in Paradise are said by Jeremias²³ to represent life and death in the cosmic sanctuary (Paradise). They are explained by Winckler

¹⁹ *The History of Alexander the Great*, ed. E. A. W. Budge, Cambridge, 1889, p. lx.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 102. In the Ethiopian version, the date of which is unknown, the god on the couch is said to be Enoch. Alexander has become a Christian king. Cf. *The Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great* (Ethiopic text), ed. E. A. W. Budge, London, 1896, II, p. 158.

²¹ *The History of Alexander the Great*, ed. E. A. W. Budge, p. 101.

²² *Der Alexanderroman des Archipresbyters Leo*, ed. F. Pfister, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 111. Cf. also O. Zingerle, *Die Quellen zum Alexander des Rudolf von Ems*, im Anhang: *Die Historia de Preliis*, *Germanistische Abhandlungen*, IV, Breslau, 1885; and F. Pfister, *Die Historia de Preliis und das Alexanderepos des Quilichinus*, *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, I, 1912, Heft 3.

²³ Alfred Jeremias, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East*, Engl. ed., 1911, I, p. 24.

as sun and moon, day and night, lightness and darkness, life and death, good and evil. Sometimes the opposing qualities are combined in a single tree, as in the tree of the knowledge of good and evil which stands at the limit of the earth where the kingdoms of the dead and the living meet.²⁴ Whatever the significance of the sun and moon trees in general, they do in Alexander's case mean that he will die, and that shortly. Dionysus, who is often identified with Osiris, is probably also here the lord of death and life.²⁵ The bare tree with the phoenix sitting upon it is intended certainly to reveal death to Alexander, but probably with the added hope of resurrection. We have here a strikingly effective use of a well-known symbol. The phoenix represented immortality in pre-Christian times.²⁶ An impressive evidence of its antiquity is that given by Budge when he connects it with "Osiris-neb-Heh, *i.e.*, Osiris, Lord of Eternity, who appears in the form of a mummy with the head of the Bennu-bird, or phoenix. This name proves that the idea of an existence renewed and prolonged indefinitely was associated with the Bennu-bird at a very early period."²⁷ Moreover, the phoenix is found in the first centuries on tombs as an emblem of resurrection. In a mosaic in the church of Saint Cosmo and Saint Damian of the sixth century there is seen a phoenix with a seven-rayed nimbus on a palm tree.²⁸ The same figure appears on a sarcophagus in the Catacombs,²⁹ and again in the ninth-century mosaic in the church of Saint Cecilia in Rome.³⁰

²⁴ Hugo Winckler, *Arabisch.-Semitisch.-Orientalisch. Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, Berlin, 1901, 5. 6. Jahrg., ss. 156, 157.

²⁵ Frazer, *Attis, Adonis, and Osiris*, II, p. 126.

²⁶ F. J. Lauth, *Die Phoenixperiode*, *Abhandlungen der Philos.-Philol. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, München, 1881, XV Bd., II Abtheil., ss. 316, 317.

²⁷ E. A. W. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 1911, I, p. 60.

²⁸ L. Twining, *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediæval Christian Art*, 1852, pl. xxi, fig. 6.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pl. xxi, fig. 5. A. Bosio, *Sculture e pitture . . . della Roma Sotteranea*, 1737, I, pl. xxii.

³⁰ Twining, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxix. Cf. for the whole matter, F. Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen*, Altona, 1825, pp. 94 ff.

§5

In the vision of the tree that appears to Bors the phoenix is replaced by the pelican, also a symbol of immortality in Christian art,³¹ and often, as here, used to represent Christ.

And soo a lytel from thens he lokod vp in to a tree / and there he sawe a passynge grete byrde vpon an olde tree / and hit was passynge drye withoute leues / and the byrd sat aboue and had byrdes the whiche were dede for honger / Soo smote he hym self with his bek the whiche was grete and sharpe / And soo the grete byrd bledde tyl that he dyed amonge his byrdes / And the yonge byrdes token the lyf by the blood of the grete byrd /³²

The hermit's explanation to Bors of his vision is of the utmost interest.

Thenne oure lord Ihesus Cryste shewed hym vnto yow in the lykenes of a fowle that suffered grete anguysshe for vs syn he was putte vpon the crosse / and bledde his herte blood for mankynde / there was the token and the lykenes of the Sancgreal that apiered afore yow / for the blood that the grete foule bled reuyued the chyckens from deth to lyf / And by the bare tree is betokened the world whych is naked and withoute fruyte but yf hit come of oure lord/³³

Here the Dry Tree becomes the symbol of the grail. The bird, the pelican which pierced its own breast and shed its own blood to sustain its young, is the well-known symbol of Christ.³⁴

³¹ F. Münter, *op. cit.*, p. 90. Cf. also Twining, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxvii.

³² Malory, ed. H. O. Sommer, 1889, XVI, ch. 6.

³³ *Ibid.*, XVI, ch. 13. Lot explains the name Bohort as from the *Passio Matthaei* (*Lancelot*, 1918, pp. 124, 125). He says also (p. 123), "En dehors des apocryphes, l'Estoire a utilisé aussi des sources orientales qu'elle a détournés intentionnellement de leur sens, ou qu'elle n'a pas bien comprises."

³⁴ There is an interesting picture now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, by Girolamo dai Libri, 1474-1556, of the Virgin and Child enthroned in front of a rich green tree; to the right and interlaced with the green tree is the Dry Tree on the bare boughs of which there is a peacock. The peacock, like the phoenix and the pelican, is often found as a symbol of immortality.

§6

Seth's vision of the tree makes the connection with Christ still more explicit. In the vision of Bors the Dry Tree represents the cross, the pelican the bleeding figure of Christ who shed his blood that mankind might be saved from death. Seth sees the Dry Tree flourish and become green and living when Christ, the promised fruit, appears on the tree (cross).

The vision of Seth is an addition to the apocryphal Adam and Eve story. In brief summary, the story, as it concerns the present study, grew somewhat in this way. Oderic and Mandeville, as it will be remembered, had it that the tree was blasted and became dry when Christ was crucified.³⁵ This explanation replaced an earlier one that the tree was struck dry when Adam sinned. The shedding of the leaves of the tree from which Adam and Eve ate the fruit in the Garden of Eden is the first indication of the blight that had fallen on mankind. In the oldest description, to be sure, that in the Jewish *Apocalypsis Mosis*, which, it is thought, was written between the first and the fourth centuries,³⁶ the tree itself does not lose its leaves, though surrounded by others that do. In the account which Eve gives of her fall she says, "I began to seek, in my nakedness . . . for leaves to hide my shame, but I found none, for, as soon as I had eaten, the leaves showered down from all the trees . . . except the fig tree only. But I took leaves from it and made for myself a girdle and it was from the very same plant of which I had eaten."³⁷ Here the tree of life follows the original tradition curiously. In Enoch's description "its leaves and blooms and wood wither not forever."³⁸

³⁵ See above, p. 64.

³⁶ R. H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigraphia of the Old Testament*, 1913, II, pp. 129, 130.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, II, p. 146. Charles's translation is based mainly on MSS. D (Ceriani) and C (Tischendorf). In the Armenian version the fig tree is likewise the only one that does not lose its leaves. Conybeare, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1895, VII, p. 225.

³⁸ *Enoch*, I, ch. 24. Charles, *Apocrypha . . . of the Old Testament*, II, p. 204.

In the Ethiopian redaction of the Penitence of Adam of the fifth century, Adam himself was shown the tree when he quitted the garden. He saw that God had changed its form and that it had become dry, whereupon he trembled and was filled with dread.³⁹ And in a curious document of the Egyptian Christians, who, as Budge notes, never succeeded in ridding their minds of some of the picturesque beliefs of their pagan ancestors, the trees all become bare. In this story John was taken by an angel upon his wing of light to Paradise. In response to his request, he was shown the tree of life, from which Adam ate the fruit, standing bare in the middle of the garden and Adam himself gathering the dried leaves which were under the tree. When he asked for an explanation, he was told that "from the moment when the Devil entered into Paradise, and seduced Adam, and Eve his wife, the trees, which up to that time had possessed a sweet smell, ceased to have any smell at all, and their leaves began to fall off. And Adam used to dress himself in the leaves, and to make them be witnesses for him in the judgment because of what he had done."⁴⁰

In these descriptions of the tree nothing is said of its blooming again. The blighting of the tree—its death as the result of Adam's sin—is insisted on. In the fifth-century *Gospel of Nicodemus*,⁴¹ however, Seth tells of how he was sent to Paradise by Adam, who was near death, to ask for the oil of mercy. Michael refused to send the oil, but promised that in five thousand and five hundred years Adam and his descendants should be healed of every disease by the Son of God, who would then appear on earth. The promise contains no reference to the tree. The first

³⁹ S. C. Malan, *The Book of Adam and Eve*, 1882, p. 4. Cf. also Migne, *Dictionnaire des apocryphes*, I, p. 298. Here no date is given and other material is added.

⁴⁰ *The Mysteries of St. John the Apostle and Holy Virgin, Coptic Apocrypha in the Dialect of Upper Egypt*, ed. and transl. E. A. W. Budge, 1913, pp. 249, 250. The date of the MS. is 1006 A. D.

⁴¹ *Evangelia Apocrypha*, ed. Tischendorf, 1853; *Evangelium Nicodemi*, Pars Altera, cap. III (XIX).

statement that connects the tree of Adam with the tree of Christ is found in the twelfth century, when the story was fused with the legend of the cross.⁴² Seth is said to have brought back with him a twig from the tree of life which became in time the wood from which the cross was made. The *Legenda Aurea* includes this explanation of the origin of the wood in the history of the cross.⁴³

The next addition made to the developing story was the vision of Seth. This is not found before the thirteenth century. When Adam was past nine hundred years old, he sent Seth to Paradise along a path in which the seared tracks of Adam and Eve were his guide. Seth asked the angel at the gate when Adam would be permitted to leave the world, and whether he should have the promised oil of mercy. He was bidden to look in at the gate and heed what he should see. A rich country was spread out before him, a spring and four streams, and a great tree of which he was told, "pis tre was dri for Adam's sin." He looked again and saw an adder about the tree; he looked a third time and saw the tree clothed with bark and leaves and with a newborn child in the branches at the top of the tree. The child, he was told, is Christ, who shall cleanse Adam's sin. He was given three pippins. When he returned he found his father still alive. And when he told him what he had done Adam laughed first and then died. Seth laid the three grains under his father's tongue and buried him in the vale of Hebron. Out of his mouth grew three trees, from the wood of which the cross was made on which our Lord suffered his passion.⁴⁴

⁴² W. Meyer, *Die Geschichte des Kreuzholzes vor Christus*, *Abhandlungen der Philos.-Philol. Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Bd. XVI, Abtheil. II, München, 1882. Johannes Belet, 1170, *Rationale divinatorum officiorum*, cap. 151, De exaltatione sanctae crucis.

⁴³ J. Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. Graesse, 1846, cap. LXVIII, De inventione Sanctae Crucis.

⁴⁴ The earliest version seems to be that in the *Image du Monde* version II, 1247; see C. Fant, *L'Image du Monde*, Upsala, 1886, pp. 5-6; 31-32. For later versions of this story in various languages (thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) see: *Legends of the Holy Rood*, R. Morris, *E. E. T. S., Orig. Ser.*, XLVI, 1871, pp. 18, 19, 62; *Canticum de Creatione*, C. Horstmann,

§7

The legend of the Dry Tree seems to go back to the utmost antiquity, to represent beliefs difficult for us to understand. Following one line backwards, we find the Christian tale attached to an already famous tree, a center of worship in pre-Christian times. It appears in apocryphal stories of Adam and Eve which bear some relation to similar tales connected with Mohammed. One sacred tree mentioned by the Persian geographer, Hamd Allah, grew from the staff of Mohammed. "As such it had been transmitted through many generations, until it was finally deposited in the grave of Abu Abdallah Dásitáni, where it struck root and put forth branches."⁴⁵ This tree is explicitly called *l'Arbre Sec*. Bovenschen also notes—without stating his source, however,—a connection with Mohammed. "Among the Arabians," he says, "there was the belief that mere contact with the prophet would make the Dry Tree green again."⁴⁶

The beginnings of the legend are vague, but it is possible to conjecture. Yule thought that the words of Ezekiel probably gave rise to the story. In Ezekiel XVII, 24, we read: "And all the trees of the field shall know that I, Jehovah, have brought down the high tree, have exalted the low tree, have dried up the green tree, and have made the dry tree to flourish."⁴⁷ Zarncke in his *Prester John*

Anglia, I, 1878, p. 303; *Dboec van dem Houte door Jacob van Maerlant*, J. Tideman, in *Vereeniging ter Bevordering der Nederlandse Letterkunde*, Werken, Jaarg. I, Afl. 2, Leiden, 1844; *Van deme Holte des hilligen Cruzes*, C. Schroeder, Erlangen, 1869; *Ly Myreur des Histors de Jean des Preis*, C. J. A. Borgnet, Brussels, 1864, I; *Cursor Mundi*, R. Morris, *E. E. T. S.*, *Orig. Ser.*, LVII, ll. 1237-1432; *Sulla Leggenda del legno della Croce*, Adolfo Mussafia, *Sitzungsberichte der Philos.-Hist. Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, LXIII, Jhg. Wien, 1869.

⁴⁵ *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, p. 135. Zeschwitz, *Kaisertum*, Leipzig, 1877, pp. 48, 165. Cf. also G. Weil, *Biblische Legenden der Muselmänner*, 1845, p. 284.

⁴⁶ *J. von Mandeville und die Quellen seiner Reisebeschreibung*, *Zt. für Erdkunde*, XXIII, 1888, p. 238.

⁴⁷ There are numbers of illustrations to be found in the works of the Biblical writers showing familiarity with the imagery based on the tree of life. See *Prov.* III, 18; XIII, 12; *Ezek.* XLVII, 12; *Rev.* II, 7, XXII, 19. The

quotes a curious passage from a fourteenth-century Cambridge manuscript in which it is stated that *Arbre Sec* is mistakenly used for *Arbre Seth*.⁴⁸ Such confusions gave rise to many a story in the Middle Ages. But back of the Seth story and similar legends there lies a world of primitive belief belonging to the life tree,⁴⁹ especially in its connection with the entrance of death into the world.

Of the several kinds of stories which, according to Frazer, were devised by primitive philosophy to explain the fact that men die, three are of interest to this study: the moon type, the serpent type and the banana type. The waxing and waning moon, and the cast skins of serpents were emblems of immortality, whereas the banana tree, which perishes as soon as it produces its fruit, was an emblem of mortality. He thinks that all the myths that relate how a serpent became the evil agent of human death may be referred to an old idea of a certain jealousy and rivalry between men and creatures which cast their skins. The story he supposes was of a conflict between man and his rivals for the possession of immortality, a contest in which the victory always remained with the animals. The banana type he illustrates by a story current among the natives of Poso, a district of the Central Celebes, which relates that our first father and mother mistakenly refused a stone which was offered them by their Maker, and were given instead a banana, which they ate. Whereupon a voice from heaven said, "Because ye have chosen the banana, your life shall be like its life. When the banana tree has offspring, the parent stem

fathers also make use of it. See Ambrose (Migne, *Patrol.*, XIV, 940-941), who calls Christ the tree of life; Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XIII, c. 20 (Migne, *Patrol.*, XLI). Hugo of Saint Victor (Migne, *Patrol.*, CLXXVI, 643) speaks of three trees: the first, the actual tree; the second, Jesus Christ; the third, the wisdom of God. Man was crucified for the third, fell because of the first, and was saved by the second.

⁴⁸ Fr. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, II, pp. 127-128. Cf. *Marco Polo*, ed. Yule-Cordier, I, p. 139.

⁴⁹ See F. Piper, *Der Baum des Lebens*, *Evangelisches Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1863; A. Graf, *La Leggenda del Paradiso Terrestre*, 1878; A. Wünsche, *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser*, *Ex Oriente Lux*, Winckler, 1905.

dies; so shall ye die and your children shall step into your place. Had ye chosen the stone, your life would have been like the life of the stone changeless and immortal.'⁵⁰

All three of these types throw light on our legend. The tree of the moon with the tree of the sun was seen by Alexander when he was about to die, and warned him of his death. The other two are more closely connected with the Dry Tree. The banana story makes the tree important at the outset. Though less well known than the palm and the fig, the banana is also identified with the tree of life as the "fig of Adam." It was cultivated in India at the time of Alexander. Used for as many purposes as the palm (it is said to replace grain, potatoes, beets, hemp and flax in other countries), it was closely bound up with the lives of the people. They knew all its ways.⁵¹ Its habit of drying and so perishing after it bore its fruit, a habit that made it a suitable illustration for the loss of immortality by Adam and Eve, may have given rise to the use of the Dry Tree as a symbol of death. Primitive stories do take their beginnings often from some such simple observed natural facts.

The serpent story is the story of the Fall of Man, which in its original form was an explanation of the origin of death. Frazer reconstructs the primitive tale by a comparison of many versions. Adam and Eve were created and placed in the Garden of Eden.

As a crowning mercy he [God] planned for our first parents the great gift of immortality, but resolved to make them the arbiters of their own fate by leaving them free to accept or reject the proffered boon. For that purpose he planted in the midst of the garden two wondrous trees that bore fruits of very different sorts, the fruit of the one being fraught with death to the eater, and the other with life eternal. Having done so, he sent the serpent to the man and woman and charged him to deliver this message: "Eat not of the Tree of Death, for in the day ye eat thereof ye

⁵⁰ Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, 1913, I, pp. 60-73. Cf. also his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I, pp. 51, 71.

⁵¹ Larousse, *Nouveau Dictionnaire*.

shall surely die; but eat of the Tree of Life and live forever." The serpent twisted the message, and so men die. But the serpent by shifting his skin lives forever.⁵²

This story goes back to remote ages. A Babylonian cylinder seal, 2750-2000 B. C., now in the British Museum, is supposed to represent it. There is a seated figure on each side of a tree-palm. The male figure wears a head ornament emblematic of deity. Behind the body of the woman there is a wavy serpent standing erect on his tail as if ready to speak to her.⁵³

Assyrian tablets, 800 B. C., now also in the British Museum, show winged figures before the tree of life, a palm.⁵⁴ In such figures, says Jastrow, the belief is shown that only the gods can pluck the fruit. Later the gods were replaced by human figures, and the primitive myth, whatever its original signification, became a tale to illustrate the belief that man forfeited immortality—the prerogative of the gods—by an act of disobedience. Such stories explain the presence of death in the world. Death is due either to eating the forbidden fruit or to the failure to eat it. Both motifs are found in primitive tales.⁵⁵

These old designs suggest certain likenesses to descriptions of the Dry Tree. In the Alexander stories, the phoenix, the symbol of everlasting life, takes the place of the symbol of Aschur often seen over the tree of life. Aschur "seems to be identical with the ancient Babylonian Anu, God of Heaven and the Sun," according to Jastrow.⁵⁶ In the Seth story, when Seth sees the Dry Tree turn green, he also beholds the infant Christ in its branches, here clearly the symbol of immortality. Christ is to conquer death brought into the world by the sin of

⁵² *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, I, pp. 51-52.

⁵³ T. G. Pinches, *The Old Testament in the Light of the Historical Records and Legends of Assyria and Babylonia*, 1908, pp. 79, 80.

⁵⁴ M. Jastrow, *Bildermappe zur Religion Babylonien und Assyrien*, 1912, nos. 55, 56, 165, 213-217.

⁵⁵ M. Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, 1915, pp. 425, 426.

⁵⁶ M. Jastrow, *Bildermappe*, p. 49.

Adam who dared to pluck the fruit of the tree of life. In the vision of Bors, the bird becomes the pelican, often the symbol of Christ. It is represented as shedding its own blood to give life to its young. The vision is directly explained as symbolical. The Dry Tree is the cross, and the bird is Jesus, shedding his blood to give mankind eternal life.

This old story reveals a curious process of development. A symbol in the beginning meant to explain the presence of death in the world, it became a symbol of immortality and was taken over by the Christians, then made literal and attached to definite localities and individual trees, and finally used by voyagers and romancers to indicate a fabulous place, but one that could be reached by the adventurous.

ELEMENTS OF COMEDY IN THE
ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH
BALLADS



BY WINIFRED SMITH

ELEMENTS OF COMEDY IN THE ENGLISH AND SCOTTISH BALLADS

MR. GUMMERE allowed but twenty-five of the three hundred odd ballads in the great Child collection to be of the "light or comic class," yet he went on to enumerate some seventy more that are romantic, still others of a purely "entertaining" character—such as certain of the Robin Hood cycle—and another group of twenty which, though tragic in tone, have happy endings.¹ Mr. Gummere apparently looked for comedy only in the "reflective note" of the ballad poets or found it "the affair of prose" or "at its best . . . the conventional 'poetic justice' say of 'Hind Horn' in balladry;" he even went so far as to call "every 'happy ending' . . . at heart a kind of drunkard's paradise in dream." (Pp. 441-442.)

This analysis and the resultant classification of non-tragic poems both seem to me unsatisfactorily incomplete in the light of modern functional psychology, which regards comic feeling, the germ of a comedian's interpretation of life, as not merely maudlin dream or clear reflection, but in its earlier manifestations as compounded of the poet's self-consciousness and his triumphant understanding and solution of a problem, expressed in shout and laugh and active, forward-reaching deeds. I have therefore made a fresh study of these ballads as records of some primitive phases of comic feeling, phases many of them void of humor to a civilized audience, many of them so changed in meaning as to be only half joyful to

¹ F. B. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, 1907, pp. 338-339.

the reader far removed from their first singers. In this study I have not tried to stress dates or to make a chronological table of the material I use, I have merely attempted to discuss the differences in the feeling expressed there, variations in mood with which time of composition has little to do. I am interested primarily in pointing out certain psychological stages in the harmonizing of the social situations presented by the poets, for I have found the ballads particularly significant as preserving typical moments in the mastery of some fundamentally important human experiences, from the tense, baffling conflict in which the individual is not strong enough or cool enough to conquer, to the better understood situations where he is able to point out a way to success. In the stories of the second type the ballad poets produce for their audiences the true delight of comedy.

Popular literature does not record more than faint traces of the most primitive kind of comic pleasure in satiric ridicule,—records of that are to be found in descriptions of the burlesque animal mimes of savage peoples,²—but in the ballads can be discovered many indications of that intellectual triumph which, succeeding the most immediate and transient expressions of pleasure, may be called the first sign of sophisticated comic sense. This triumph, at first only of one individual over another, expressed by means of very simple realistic satire, prepares the way for later general appreciation of the comic artist, who criticizes and solves rather complicated social problems by a method which is actually the perfecting of the earlier and cruder tool of personal ridicule. The more primitive the type of conflict involved the more individual and self-conscious will be the victory and the louder and more immediate will be the accompanying laughter of the participants in the joke. We have nothing surviving in

² Ridicule as a tool for enforcing social conformity is largely used by the medicine men of Australian tribes. Cf. bibliography in W. I. Thomas, *Source Book for Social Origins*, 1909, pt. II, where some interesting examples of the mimes are also given. Cf. also R. Wallaschek, *Primitive Music*, 1893, especially ch. VIII.

English of quite so savage a spirit as that "unbounded merriment" recorded of the gods in the South American *Popol Vuh*,³ as they mocked the writhings of their guests, tortured on red-hot stones; yet this cruel, barbarous laughter echoes unpleasantly shrill in the mirth of the soulless mermaiden whose revenge on her faithless lover is so sweet to her in the song of "Clerk Colvill" (No. 42).⁴ She causes his head to ache with a pain that kills him:

'Ohon, alas!' says Clerk Colvill.
 'An aye sae sair's I mean my head!'
 And merrily laugd the mermaiden,
 'It will ay be war till ye be dead.'

In such intense situations as this, however, there is, simply because of their intensity, nothing of the intellectual calm and of the pleasurable understanding which characterize the usual sophisticated comic experience as Meredith truly defines it. This laughter is not "thoughtful," it is indeed little more than a vent for the overwrought feelings accompanying an exhilarating success. For example, although the burlesque flytings of warriors before battle seem to have acted both as relief for tense emotion and as practical incitements to combat,⁵ it is not until the violent and hysterical laughter in them subsides with their violent emotion that flyting can be given a comic value.

The transition from the aggressive battle mood to gentler satire is not found in the ballads but is well expressed

³ This interesting "Record of the Community" from Guatemala has been summarized in English by Lewis Spence, 1908, who compares it to Saxo's *Danish History*.

⁴ All ballads are referred to by the numbers used to designate them in the collection edited by F. J. Child, ten volumes, 1882-1898.

⁵ Cf. Sinfiötli's taunting of his enemy, *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, ed. G. Vigfússon and F. York Powell, 1883, I, pp. 135 ff., and other flytings in the *Volsungasaga*, transl. by E. Magnússon and W. Morris, ed. H. H. Sparling, 1888, pp. 29-30; also Atli's taunting of Hrimgerd, *Die Edda*, ed. H. Gering, 1892, pp. 153-154. W. B. Cannon's experiments on animals prove the extraordinary effect of emotional stimulation on physical organisms in battle, *Bodily Changes in Pain, Hunger, Fear and Rage*, 1915.

in a short Eskimo dialogue between two birds, cited by Professor Boas in the tenth volume of the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, page 110: its tone of fairly peaceful sarcastic debate and somewhat exaggerated realism is like that which succeeds to hostile satire in much popular wit. The owl says to the snow-bird, "You have nothing to pick your teeth with," the other retorts, "Your throat is so wide one can look through it." This method of flyting by showing up your opponent in his most unfavorable light is employed also by the hero of the *Lokasenna* in his defense of himself against the unfriendly gods.⁶ Again it is used constantly in the semidramatic *contrast*i or wit combats universal in popular song, of which the only pure example in our ballads is "The Fause Knight upon the Road" (No. 3). In this dialogue the hero, the little lad who has our sympathies, triumphs in a successful last word:

Fause Knight, "I wiss ye were in yon sie."
 Wee Boy, "And a gude bottom under me."
 F. K., "And the bottom for to break."
 W. B., "And ye to be drowned!"

In some more elaborate ballads where the struggle is not so impersonally nor so dramatically reported as it is here, it is nevertheless often possible to single out a simple dialogue core.⁷ In "The Gardener" (No. 219), for

⁶ *Die Edda*, ed. cited, pp. 29 ff. In form the *Lokasenna* is almost like a dramatic dance or tournament in which the challenged Loki holds the ring against all comers. Cf. the Siberian flytings cited by Gummere, *Beginnings of Poetry*, 1901, p. 212.

⁷ So a little Greek love song seems to be built around a quarrel between a girl and her mother—a frequently found folk theme; a lover speaks of having met his sweetheart at the well and imagines her going home and saying,

I tripped, my mother, near the well
 And broke my pitcher as I fell,

and the wise old woman's guess at the truth:

It was no tripping broke your jug
 But likelier far some gallant's hug.

"The Stumble," *Greek Folk Poesy*, ed. L. M. Garnett, 1896, I, p. 222.

Many Italian love songs are in dialogue form. Cf. G. Carducci, *Cantileni e Ballate*, 1871, pp. 52-54, and the typical *contrasto* on p. 30.

example, the central theme is the retort of the unromantic heroine on her rustic lover, mocking his sentimental gifts and good wishes :

‘O fare you well, young man,’ she says.

‘Farewell, and I bid adieu ;
Since you’ve provided a weed for me,
Among the summer flowers,
Then I’ll provide another for you,
Among the winter showers.

‘The new-fallen snow to be your smock,
Becomes your body neat ;
And your head shall be deckd with the eastern wind,
And the cold rain on your breast.’

In “Our Goodman” (No. 274), the impudent boldness of the deceitful wife’s replies as she frees herself from her husband’s suspicious questions, is characteristic of this kind of debate in a great many popular songs and tales all over Europe, as witness the parallels cited by Child in his notes on this ballad. In some of the Piedmontese examples the wife’s name, Marion, connects her with the feminine figure in rustic spring ceremonies and helps to explain the tone of merry license in these songs. A dialogue core of almost as primitive a sort is that at the basis of “King Edward the Fourth and a Tanner of Tamworth” (No. 273), where a wit combat much like the Eddic flytings precedes the wager and where the tanner’s fall from the king’s spirited horse adds a simple physical joke to the joy of the punning war of words :

The steed gave the tanner such a fall
his neck was almost brast.

‘Take thy horse again, with a vengeance,’ he said,
‘with me he shall not abide ;’

‘It is no marvell,’ said the king, and laught,
‘he knew not your cow-hide.’

Closely associated with these *contrast*i or debates are the riddling ballads, in which much serious gnomie mate-

rial is often put into a satiric dramatic frame.⁸ The true comic value of riddles lies not merely in their puns or their sudden turns of interest but in their triumphant solutions, simple conclusions to apparent intellectual tension analogous to the happy endings of more complicated dramas. Compared with the *contrastî*, which are usually aimless, the riddles mark an artistic advance in that they are purposive; there is some definite problem to be solved in them, generally with a particular end in view. So in earlier times Thor and Odin triumphed in riddling word combats over the dwarf Alvis and over Vafthrudnir by hard intellectual effort and won thereby in each case a valuable reward.⁹

Among the ballads "Riddles Wisely Expounded" (No. 1) is only the oldest of several of its kind; in versions A and C the reward of success in the contest between the maid and the devil is:

As sune as she the fiend did name,
He flew awa' in a blazing flame,

whereas version A gives a more humanized situation in which it is said of the young man who has been the questioner:

And having truly tried her wit,
He much commended her for it,

⁸ I include the riddles in my group of triumphantly solved problem ballads, though I agree with Mr. A. Beatty in his opinion, confirmed by other folklorists, that the answers to the riddles were often "absolutely fixed independently of any rational process." ("Ballad, Tale and Tradition," *P.M.L.A., Orig. Ser.*, XXII, 1914, p. 495.) The arrangement of the gnostic material in the riddles is nevertheless highly dramatic; there is tension and an effect of triumph at the end, so that the delight of the audience must have been similar to that taken by children in the endings of fairy tales of similar formula—ordeals and clever solution—no matter how familiar the situation may be.

⁹ *Alvissmol, Die Edda*, ed. cited, pp. 81 ff.; *Vafthruthnismol, ibid.*, pp. 59 ff. Cf. the riddling games of forfeits played by girls and shepherds in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, ed. K. Bartsch, *La Langue et la Littérature françaises depuis le IX^e siècle jusqu'au XIV^e siècle*, 1887, pp. 523 ff.

And after, as it is verifi'd,
He made of her his lovely bride.¹⁰

We are here very close to the test type of comedy, in which a happy ending is brought about through the victory of hero or heroine in some kind of ordeal; the various plays about patient Griselda, Shakspeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*, and other similar plays, might be cited as evidence of the continued popularity of the test theme in Elizabethan drama.

Perhaps the simplest and oldest test was one of physical strength rather than of wit, like the dancing match in which the Bonny Lass of Anglesey (No. 220) holds the floor successfully against fifteen lads in order to win her choice of a husband.¹¹ Similar to this ordeal in general are the stories alluded to among the riddles, where the problem set is an intellectual one, to be solved by mental effort; these record serious ordeals, such as that imposed on the damsel in "The Elfin Knight" (No. 2):

'Married with me if thou wouldst be,
A courtesie thou must do to me.

'For thou must shape a sark to me,
Without any cut or heme,' quoth he.

'Thou must shape it knife-and-sheerlesse,
And also sue it needle-threedlesse.'

The maiden retorts with another impossible task for her tormentor and the two call quits.

In such a ballad as "The Twa Magicians" (No. 44), all the excitements of a race—a test of physical endurance—and a wit combat—a test of brains—are combined with a successful love intrigue in a manner to insure the great-

¹⁰ Cf. "Captain Wedderburn's Courtship" (No. 46), a well-developed romance of obvious riddle origin.

¹¹ Of this popular theme there is an amusing example, not cited by Child, in an Italian *märchen*, "Se tu fai un miracolo più bello di questo, ti sposo," A. De Gubernatis, *Novelline di San Stephano di Calcinaria*, 1869, No. 26. Cf. Grimm, *Kinder-und-Hausmärchen*, No. 68.

est interest in the audience.¹² In "Tam Lin" (No. 39) there is another type of ordeal, successfully met by the heroine's endurance and courage in a trying situation:

Gloomy, gloomy was the night
And eerie was the way,
As fair Jenny in her green mantle
To Miles Cross she did gae.

About the middle of the night
She heard the bridles ring;
This lady was as glad at that
As any earthly thing.

First she let the black pass by,
And syne she let the brown;
But quickly she ran to the milk-white steed,
And pu'd the rider down.

Sae well she minded what he did say
And young Tam Lin did win;
Syne coverd him wi' her green mantle,
As blythe's bird in spring.

Sir Cawline, too (No. 61), is obliged to meet a series of difficult tests and even to be nearly killed by a "false steward" before he is allowed to marry the king's daughter; his adventures, however, have to do with merely human and natural obstacles and are not so near to mystery and tragedy as those of the fair Janet who rescues Tam Lin from the fairies.

Although where emotion runs as high as it does in these problematical situations the joyous effect of a final success is much sobered, such serious ballads should nevertheless be regarded as expressions of that successful "perceptive or governing spirit" which Meredith calls comic. For since shrewdness and cunning, like all

¹² The kind of magic transformation figuring here is discussed by E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, 1894-1896, I, ch. VII. Similar themes are found in the Italian *märchen*, not cited by Child, in Straparola, *Piacevoli Notti*, VIII, 5, and G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, 1882, I, pp. 20 ff.

forms of thought, are called out first in response to very practical needs, as instruments for the control of hard problems, triumph through wit and persistent ingenuity will always have a comic value.

When mastery of the problem set becomes a little easier, the emotion centering in its expression naturally lightens, as does the feeling of the audience in listening to the story. So "King John and the Bishop" (No. 45), a "clever Jack" tale well and humorously told, presents a most enjoyable little farce; there is no particular strain on any of the parties involved, the shepherd's readiness of repartee easily wins for himself "a pattent of 300 pounds a yeere . . . franke and free," and for his brother, the bishop who had tricked the king, "free pardon . . . his land and his head."¹³ Here is an essentially comic motive—this obtaining freedom and favor by wit—and it runs all through the ballads, perhaps most commonly in connection with situations of the "biter bit" type.

Several of these baiting or gulling tales only develop the germ idea of "Riddles Wisely Expounded," namely, the escape of a clever lass or lad from an enemy.¹⁴ Lady Isabel frees herself from the Elf Knight (No. 4) by the primitive method of lulling her dangerous lover to sleep with a magic rune and then killing him,—a situation that would be tragic if human sympathy were not inevitably with the mortal maiden and against the otherworldly knight. In "Bromfield Hill" (No. 43), the girl is content to throw the knight into a deep sleep by her magic and to go away, laughing "to see her love crosst," with a malice hardly less scornful than that of Clerk Colvill's mermaid.¹⁵ A popular jest told in the *Decameron* and

¹³ Child's notes to No. 45 do not mention two Italian parallels which I have found: "L'Abbate senza pinseri," in G. Pitre, *Fiabe, novelle, racconti popolari siciliani*, 1871-1875, II, pp. 324 ff.; and a story in V. Imbriani, *La Novellaia milanese*, III, p. 621.

¹⁴ Cf. the Greek ballad, not cited by Child, "The Disguised Lamia and the Widow's Son," *Greek Folk Poesy*, ed. Garnett, I, pp. 103-105, where the lad, lured by a Lamia into a well, frightens her into letting him out by telling her he is the lightning's son and will burn her up.

¹⁵ One Italian parallel, not cited by Child, rationalizes this story by mak-

dramatized in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, is sung in the evidently late C version of "The Baffled Knight" (No. 112); the unhappy lover, one of those stupid butts in whom simple comedy delights, is four times not only foiled but abused, thrown into mud and water and forced to sit all night, quite helpless, with his boots half off. The other versions of this pretty story are less elaborate and tell only how a girl deceives her lover by promising him happiness in her father's hall and then how she enters the "wicket gate" shutting the "foure-eard foole without."

The practical joke played by a chaste maid on a friar, "The Friar in the Well" (No. 276), represents another very widespread class of mediæval jests, the tale satirizing the unfaithful priest. Naturally the Latin countries preserve more songs on this subject than England and Scotland, because friars and priests continued to be prominent objects of scorn in Catholic lands long after Henry VIII had closed the English monasteries. Since popular sympathy is almost invariably against the false shepherds, they are pilloried in songs of all degrees of violence. Mr. Gummere quotes in *The Beginnings of Poetry*, page 324, a mild little ditty:

A monk went walking along the strand,
Hey! 'twas in May!
He took his sweetheart by the hand . . .

very gentle satire compared with the virulent attacks in Italian poetry and stories!¹⁶ The ballad of "The Friar in the Well" is quite as harmless:

The fryer went all along the street
Dropping wet, like a new wash'd sheep;

ing "oppio" in a cup of coffee the soporific, instead of a magic song, G. Giannini, *Canti popolari della montagna lucchese*, 1889, pp. 157-159. An Italian *fiabe*, also neglected by Child, has the same theme, G. Finamore, *Tradizioni popolari abruzzesi*, 1882, I, pp. 35-38.

¹⁶ A particularly brutal jest is told in "Così intraviene alli preti inamorati," G. Giannini, *Canti popolari della montagna lucchese*, 1889, pp. 175-176; here three girls get ninety-seven *scudi* and a horse from an unworthy priest and then leave him to break his bones in a ditch.

Both young and old commended the maid
That such a witty prank had plaid.

Priests and women are about equally favored in farce and fabliau and therefore the ballads satirizing them may be grouped together as representing much mediæval wit. Women and their frailties are the butts of "The Wife Wrapt in a Wether's Skin" (No. 277) and of "The Boy and the Mantle" (No. 29), but between the crude brutality of the first and the finer satire of the second there is the difference between a raw and a developed art, a physical and an intellectual appeal, and the demands of a peasant and a courtly audience. Both stories end happily, the first, like the Elizabethan shrew comedies, by the taming of the shrew, the second by a vindication of "Craddocke's ladie," whose triumph is enhanced by the loneliness of her virtue.¹⁷ "The Farmer's Curst Wife" (No. 278) carries the joke of a woman's shrewishness a step farther by showing that her scolding is too much for the devil himself, a theme developed by numerous writers of later comedy, with especial verve by the English author of *Grim, the Collier of Croydon*.

If frailty in woman's form is fair game for the ballad writer's mirth, stupidity in any shape is still fairer. Usually the comic effect is greatest when a clever knave takes advantage of an unworldly simpleton—as in the later comedy of Molière and his successors in the English Restoration period. Dick o' the Cow (No. 185) wins by his wits a revenge on the thick-headed rascals who have robbed him; the Lochmaben Harper, in a very humorous narrative (No. 192), wins a good horse by guile and, further, causes the honest-minded king to pay him for the

¹⁷ The deceived husband, always a favorite character in comedy, is represented in the ballads by two rather grim practical jokes, one in "Queen Eleanor's Confession" (No. 156), which has a fabliau origin, the other in "Christopher White" (No. 108). For the first, cf. W. M. Hart, in *P.M.L.A.*, N. S., XVI, pp. 329 ff., and J. Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, 1893, pp. 120-121. "Get Up and Bar the Door" (No. 275) is a less serious satire on married life; cf. the interesting parallel to it in Straparola, *Piacevoli Notti*, VIII, 1, and Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*, pp. 319 ff.

loss of a mare and colt which are all the time safe in his own stable. The tricks of the Crafty Farmer (No. 283) are of the same order and find a parallel in the amusingly exaggerated similar theme of a Greek folk-song, "The Klepht Turned Farmer," printed by Miss Garnett in *Greek Folk Poesy*, I, pp. 228-229.

In the ballads cited so far it is in general comic themes and character types, elements astonishingly like those of sixteenth-century comedy, that have been formulated rather than elaborate plots. Of themes there have been chiefly examples of personal triumph, by force either of body or of wit; of characters, the clever lass or lad, the stupid butt, the successful knave, the Pantaloon—deceived husband or lover—the froward or unfaithful woman, the false priest. As the social horizon widened another favorite comic type emerged, the hero whose feats of appetite or strength were exaggerated in heroic or in Rabelaisian vein; he appeared in the *Edda* as Thor, a kind of burly Hercules, and is traceable in the exploits of Dick o' the Cow (No. 185) and of various other border heroes.¹⁸ Lang Johnny More (No. 251), "just full three yards around the waist and fourteen feet in height," is the burlesque extreme of a large company of swashbucklers, who either carry through like Johnny Scott (No. 99) the bold rescue of a sweetheart; or like Clym o' the Clough and William of Cloudesly (No. 116) effect the brave and skillful freeing of a comrade; or like the Merry Merchant (No. 282) extricate themselves from danger by extraordinary strength.

Robin Hood is, of course, the leader of all these heroes, yet he is not always successful but, as is told in a number of the ballads dealing with his story, he is sometimes beaten, ducked or downed. The victorious fights of Robin

¹⁸ An absurd Italian ballad tells of a hero of this clan, who resembles in his appetite the parasite of classical comedy, one who could eat at a sitting three bulls and a cow, one hundred sheep with the wool on, and other little delicacies of the same sort, A. Gianandrea, *Canti popolari marchigiani*, 1875, pp. 168 ff.

are told in "Robin Hood and the Potter" (No. 121) and "Robin Hood and the Butcher" (No. 122), together with the jokes he played on his enemies and the harmony he established at the close of each adventure. The other group of stories, in which the hero meets a "better man," is defeated and invites his conqueror to join his band, shows Robin's triumph in generosity and large-mindedness by his refusal to cherish malice, and so are far from tragic in tone;¹⁹ in fact, these songs contain two distinct comic elements, the laughter-provoking, unexpected defeat of Robin and the harmony at the close of the story, brought about by the hero's noble spirit. There is, moreover, an element of surprise and delightful reversal of what might have been tragedy in Robin's refusal to avenge his defeat, which cannot fail to add to the pleasure of the audience in a really dramatic way and which connects these stories with others of a still wider social significance to be discussed in a moment.

From a local to a national champion the way was short. In "Gude Wallace" (No. 157) is portrayed a peerless soldier who represents in his own form his country against his foes. If his triumphant exploits are to be regarded as in a large way comic, Hugh Spencer's must be admitted to be farcical (No. 158); where Wallace kills only fifteen Englishmen at a time—a possibly credible feat for a national hero—Hugh, in order to frighten France into peace with England, unaided slays of the French king's guard "about twelve or thirteen score." Again the national triumphs of England are sung in "King Henry Fifth's Conquests in France" (No. 164), in "Durham Field" (No. 159) and in "Young Earl

¹⁹ "Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar" (No. 123) has a number of satiric and burlesque features; "The Jolly Pindar of Wakefield" (No. 124) tells the same interestingly gay story as the Elizabethan comedy of the same name. Other ballads in which Robin is shown as defeated or nearly defeated, but magnanimous in spirit, are "Robin Hood and the Tanner" (No. 126), "Robin Hood and the Beggar," II (No. 134), "Robin Hood and the Ranger" (No. 131), "Robin Hood and the Shepherd" (No. 135), and the romantic "Bold Peddlar and Robin Hood" (No. 132).

Essex's Victory over the Emperor of Germany" (No. 288):

Then was welthe and welfare in mery England,
Solaces, game and glee,
And every man loved other well,
And the king loved good yeomanrye.

The triumphant, successful feeling in all these national ballads lies at the foundation of many an Elizabethan historical play, of Shakspeare's *Henry V* most of all. *Henry V*, it has often been noted, is, in its full-blooded enjoyment of battle and of life, very different from the earlier chronicles, *Henry VI*, the Richards and *King John*; the feud theme has passed in it from tragedy to comedy just as in the ballads the same theme underwent a similar development. Ballad writers first treated border warfare with a seriousness approaching tragic emotion, as in "Chevy Chase" (No. 162) and "Otterburn" (No. 161); later poets reworked similar situations but were able to lighten them through exploiting popular love of heroes and their feats and through dropping out of sight the too well known historic elements, as in "Gude Wallace"; finally, when the emotion centering in them had evaporated with time and the whole theme become so familiar as to be tiresome, the singers were driven to enlarge their scope and to embroider their old material with detail and exaggeration of minor points until, in attempts to capture interest, they descended to such farcical, almost meaningless nonsense as "Hugh Spencer's Feats in France" (No. 158). Degeneration of a theme could go no farther.

It is only by trying to work out in some such hypothetical way the phases in the relations of the popular mind to its problems that we can come to an appreciation of the comic value of ballad romance. The romantic ballads, as Mr. Beatty and others have shown, present themes reworked time and again from various points of view and in various forms of tale and song. They interpret intelli-

gently many a situation which earlier, when overfraught with emotion, had been treated as poignantly tragic; for, as in the national feud situation, only when audience and artist were comparatively cool towards their problem, could they make the criticism of it which led to a happy ending and gave the fullest satisfaction to all listeners.

The Robin Hood ballads, with their roots in primitive nature ceremonies and their slightly varied repetitions of familiar matter, are but the best known of many similar hero stories. These romantic feud ballads can perhaps be best understood by considering them in comparison with the *Bandamanna Saga*, which Mr. Ker calls "the first reasonable and modern comedy in the history of modern Europe;"²⁰ in his study of it he brings out two important points, first, that it has the end of comedy, reconciliation, and second, that it takes the way of comedy to that end, intellectual criticism, expressed in keen plotting, fine irony and satire. The evasion of the blood feud revenge and so "the dissipation of the storm before it breaks" may not be more than "a step beyond tragedy" in effect but in so far as it represents the working of intelligent common sense on the great social problem of justice, it lays down the line for the comic development of the theme. Similarly the romantic ballads, like the Elizabethan comedies for which they sometimes seem the scenarios, throw no little light on the process of human mastery of certain difficult situations; their happy ends, meaning life instead of death not only to an individual but to his group, are the signs that some of the terrible tabus of the primitive world are being broken down through investigation and are thus on the way to being rendered harmless and eventually set aside.

Most of the plot problems presented in the romantic ballads naturally center about either supernatural dangers or blood relationships with the complication produced in them by hatred, love or violent death. The happy solutions are produced in the most primitive examples by

²⁰ W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, ed. 2, 1908, pp. 229 ff.

magic, in the more sophisticated poems by cleverness or strength or boldness. Magic was one of the earliest tools forged by humanity as protection against danger through cunning rather than force. Sigurd, charmed by Brynhilt or horny-skinned after his anointing with dragon's blood; Achilles, all but invulnerable after his bath in the dreadful waves,—heroes like these were believed to be unsailable by fear. Meaner people used magic as a method for undoing evil charms, witness the benevolent act of the fairy queen towards the poor youth bewitched by Allison Gross (No. 35):

She took me up in her milk white han,
And she's stroak'd me three times o'er her knee;
She's changed me again to my ain proper shape,
An I nae mair maun toddle about the tree.

So in "The Laily Worm and the Machrel of the Sea" (No. 36), the witch partially undoes her own mischief:

She has tain a silver wan
An gin him strokes three,
An he started up the bravest knight
Your eyes did ever see.

That the "small horn" fails to reverse the powerful charm which had turned Maisry into a "machrel" is a dreadful warning against the dangers of witchcraft—an ending too moralistic to be taken as pure comedy, though quite of a kind to be approved by Renaissance theorists on the "teaching delightfulness" of the art.

Better than the force of magic against magic was long ago discovered to be the power of courageous love against magic in averting tragedy from human fate. Brynhilt, freed from her enchanted sleep by her fearless lover's fate, little Dornröschen wakened by the Prince, King Orfeo's lady rescued from the "ympes" (No. 19), Tam Lin changed to his own shape by Fair Janet's perseverance (No. 39), Dove Isabel metamorphosed from "a savage beast" to her own fair form by Kemp Owyne's

“kisses three” (No. 34)—all these tell the same story of love triumphant over danger. The theme grows over-familiar till it is burlesqued in “The Marriage of Sir Gawain” (No. 31) and “King Henry” (No. 32), in which the lady tells how the charm is to be undone:

I’ve met with mony a gentle knight
That has gien me sic a fill,
But never before wi a courteous knight
That ga me a’ my will.

Sometimes, as in “The Maid Freed from the Gallows” (No. 95), it is easy to see a supernatural situation rationalized; here it is a human rescue where there is no question of enchantment or of any but a natural misfortune, naturally accounted for and overcome by human courage and love, aided of course by the luck that must always be a deciding factor in any event. Other rescues, rationally though adventurously effected, are recounted in such ballads as “Young Beichan” (No. 53), which has a true romantic comedy plot; Young Beichan is freed from a Moorish prison by the daughter of his captor, Shusy Pie, on condition that he return in seven years to marry her; before the time has elapsed, however, the impatient damsel sails to meet him, arrives on the eve of his wedding to a rival and is taken to his arms at once. The story of this very old ballad is so common and so popular that its central theme is repeated in more than one English version.²¹ James Hatley, for instance, released by the King’s daughter from the gaol where he had been wrongfully imprisoned and given the means to redeem himself in a duel with the real offender, is, of course, awarded the judgment by God and so is enabled to marry the princess.²²

²¹ Version C of “Young Beichan” preserves some magic features, such as the Billy Blin, the *deus ex machina*, who aids the heroine’s flight. Some Italian parallels are tragic; indeed, it is only the lucky accident of the heroine’s arrival in time that prevents No. 95 from being as tragic as most versions of “Mary Hamilton” (No. 173) and “Lady Maisry” (No. 65).

²² For the substitution of the ordeal for still more primitive methods of judgment, cf. L. T. Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, 1906, I, ch. III.

The second important element in this plot—the ordeal by battle—is made credible by being rationally treated instead of supernaturally as in “Sir Aldingar” (No. 59), where the queen’s honor is vindicated by an otherworldly “child” who fights with and vanquishes her wicked traducer. Manifestly James Hatley is the proper hero of comedy; since less of mystery clings to him, and less of painful emotion centers in his ordeal, his success is effected more naturally.

Geordie’s Lady (No. 209) in a later day chooses the still more commonplace as well as the surer and more sensible method of a ransom to free her lord from prison, while the sweetheart of the Laird o’ Logie (No. 182), a girl of wit but not of heroic mind, steals “tokens” from the king and queen with which to deceive the laird’s gaoler. “All’s fair in love,” has always been the motto of the unscrupulous young people in comedy from the days of Menander to our own, so the ballad writer is no more severe with his heroine than he would expect his audience to be. All he cares about is to gain interest for his story and sympathy for his lovers, who are appealing because they are natural and human rather than because they are strange and exotic.

All these romantic ballads of rescue and elopement, because of their successful endings as well as on account of their character types, are of the very stuff of comedy. To their heroines may be compared Shakspeare’s Anne Page or Bianca or Helena, Greene’s heroines and some of Dekker’s, whose methods of attaining their desires involve the use of a quick, lively wit, marked for triumph. Intense primitive tragedy on the other hand shadows the passive loves of Fair Annie (No. 62) and of Burd Ellen in “Child Waters” (No. 63); their cruel lords give them no chance to show the ingenuity that an equal love fires in the minds of Geordie’s active lady and her fellows. These other two, long-suffering, much-enduring, only succeed in touching hard hearts by the pathos of their meek pain and silence. That they do succeed and that each is,

like Richardson's Pamela, rewarded at last with the hand of her tormentor and by him loaded with favor, would seem to us an insufficient balance to their previous misery, yet doubtless to such simple souls as they and the audiences that first heard their stories, the end was happy. The device by which the dramatic complication is untangled in "Fair Annie," I mean the recognition of relationship which averts tragedy from the heroine, is wearisomely familiar in popular tale and song and comedy, through all the variants of the Griselda theme and many related stories.²³

One favorite form of recognition as a means to a happy ending is that in "Gil Brenton" (No. 5), where the bride is known through certain tokens given her by her lover in the wood. Similarly in "Hind Horn" (No. 17) the lovers are reunited by a token, a ring of peculiar virtue; in such tales as these the token has almost the value of a *deus ex machina*, a survival of magic machinery which makes a happy end easy.²⁴ In later stage plays the magical recognition is usually left to the pastoral, in which an oracle or a god reveals the true relationships of the much embroiled shepherds and nymphs, whereas slightly more credible forms of recognition are made use of in such romances as *Cymbeline* and *The Winter's Tale*, and others, entirely rationalized, in Shirley's *Hyde Park*, a dramatized version of the "husband's return" theme.

In addition to the "reversal by recognition" in these ballad plots, there is usually to be found another favorite comic trick, disguise of some sort, physical or mental, conscious or unconscious. In another group of ballads the main interest is in disguise, resorted to by hero or heroine as a means of testing a lover's fidelity. The Bailiff's

²³ Cf. F. B. Gummere's comments on recognition in the ballads, *The Popular Ballad*, pp. 146-147.

²⁴ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, II, gives material on life tokens. Italian parallels to "Hind Horn" are very numerous; two variants not cited by Child are "Fiorenza," G. Ferraro, *Canti popolari monferrini*, pp. 44-45, and "Il Ritorno," *ibid.*, pp. 60-61; cf. also "Il falso pellegrino," G. Giannini, *Canti popolari della montagna lucchese*, pp. 150-153.

Daughter of Islington (No. 105) starts out in "puggish attire" and,

She's up to fair London gone
Her true love to require.

Meeting him luckily on the road she tries him by telling him the Bailiff's daughter is dead; then, satisfied by his grief that the "seven long years" of their separation have not lessened his devotion, she reveals herself and it's,

O farewell grief and welcome joy,
Ten thousand times and more!²⁵

Similarly the New Slain Knight (No. 263) wakes a sleeping "well-faird May," and describes to her a murdered man who, he says, lies near by; she recognizes his description as that of her lover and tears her hair frantically till comforted by the knight's discovery of himself as the hero. "Brown Adam" (No. 98) offers a variant of the same story, which is at bottom one of the most popular combinations of practical joke with high comedy, pleasure in recognition and happy end.

Perhaps Du Méril Edelstand's explanation of the enduring human delight in disguise as due to the feeling of "escape from personality"²⁶ is sufficient to account for these widespread disguise stories, yet, although it is impossible to prove a connection, I cannot but agree with those students who see these tales as rationalized, traditional survivals of very old magical rites. Maskings and disguisings abound everywhere in primitive ceremonies, at first serious, later burlesqued. Cow-me-doo, the bird-youth who loves the Earl of Mar's daughter (No. 270), is the most consistently conceived as well as the most suc-

²⁵ In the Italian ballad cited above, "Il Ritorno," the situation is the same except that the youth tries the trick on the girl he loves, then brings her out of the faint his news had thrown her into by saying, "Courage, I am he!"

²⁶ *Histoire de la Comédie*, Paris, n. d., I, p. 63.

cessful member of the fairly large band of bewitched heroes who preserve in our ballads these ancient devices. Animal disguises, however, rarely linger so late as to be found in ballads or in romantic comedies; far more important there, are changes of sex. The lass who escapes from danger or pursues her lover or serves him as a fair page, one of the commonest types of sixteenth-century comedy, is rather more often found in popular tales than in the ballads, probably just because the latter oftener record the more primitive type of magic transformation. Possibly the bit of ancient intrigue narrated by Saxo may be one of his paraphrases of popular song or tale; he gives in the first book of his *Danish History* the vivid story of Hardgref, the witch, who pursued young Hadding with love and who, "when she found him desirous of revisiting his own land, . . . did not hesitate to follow him in man's attire, and counted it as joy to share his hardships."²⁷ The fact that a witch does this by her black art makes the disguise a much darker and more fell affair than the gallant's likeness donned by the Famous Flower of Servingmen (No. 106), the Sweet William who turns out to be a "lady gay" and marries the king at the climax of her adventures.

Sometimes the disguise is a change of rank assumed as a protection or as a means to end a love intrigue, as when King Estmere (No. 60) and his page in harper's dress win entrance to a castle, strike down a rival lover and carry off the king's bride. The lady disguised as a shepherd's daughter (No. 110), the "great MacDonald" who successfully woos Lizie Lindsay in the guise of a "shepherd loun" (No. 226), the Jolly Beggar (No. 279) and the Beggar Laddie (No. 280) who turn into wealthy landowners—these may suffice as examples of their rather uninteresting class. They represent concessions to the popular worship of place and power, as well as the rewards of faithful love; they lack the charm of the earlier heroic tales of the "love test" variety but have a "high life"

²⁷ Translation by O. Elton, 1894, I, p. 27.

interest comparable to that which makes so many melodramas and moving pictures popular today.

More entertaining are the few ballads which work out a love story in almost fabliau manner, using disguise to deceive others besides the beloved and so as a means of escape to happiness. The more than humanly enduring heroine of "The Gay Goshawk" (No. 96) feigns death in order to be carried to her true-love; here, as often in the ballads, there is a practical joke irony permeating the love story. This damsel "does" her seven bold brothers and bids them farewell in a high tone:

(A) An ye may boast in southin lans
Your sister's playd you scorn.

"Willie's Lyke-Wake" (No. 25) tells a similar story in a style still nearer to the fabliau and, as Professor Gummere notes, has dramatic elements that in the Swedish version are worked out into a little drama. Italian renderings of this happy Romeo and Juliet tale, with fortunate end, abound in popular song and play, often told with much ribald mirth.

English and Scotch humor, luckily for modern taste, rarely carries so far along the line of farcical intrigue comedy as in "The Keach in the Creel" (No. 281), where a pair of lovers triumph brutally over the old woman who opposes them, but the Italians frequently develop a similar situation in novella or canzone. In the Italian songs and tales, the favorite method of arranging a lovers' meeting is for the girl to pretend death or illness and for the lover to visit her disguised as a confessor or a doctor.²⁸ Versions A and C of "Brown Robin" (No. 97) give an innocuous variation of the same theme; the king's

²⁸ Cf. "Il Confessore," Giannini, *Canti popolari della montagna lucchese*, p. 173.

"Il frate confessore," G. Ferraro, *Canti popolari monferrini*, 1870, pp. 98-99.

"Lo amante confessore," G. Pitrè, *Canti popolari siciliani*, 1871, II, p. 100. In the *Decameron* the joke is generally bettered with satiric intent, by making the lover a real friar or priest. The ablest Italian comedy of the

daughter not only deceives her father by getting her lover into the castle and out again, dressed as a "sturdy dame," she follows him a little later, never to return.

With these intrigue stories should be classed the elopements or love affairs in which faithfulness has still greater trials to overcome. In "Hind Etin" (No. 41 B) and "Young Aikin" (No. 41 A) the happy solution is brought about with a fair show of naturalness after the lovers have lived several years in the greenwood, their small son being the mediator between them and his royal grandfather. "Willie o' Douglas Dale" (No. 101) gives to another elopement a human though banal version of the same happy end which, in the much older "Leesome Brand" (No. 15 A), is arranged by the primitive magic of "three draps o' St. Paul's ain blude." Indeed, several other romantic ballads might be called solved developments of once insoluble tragic situations. Katharine Jaffray (No. 221) and Bonny Baby Livingstone (No. 222), for example, seem in the more primitive versions of their stories to be carried off against their wills, in the later ones to be content with their fates. Erlinton (No. 8), again, has a difficult wooing and though successful has to wade through blood to be able to say to his "dearest dear,"

Thou art mine ain, I have bought thee dear,
An we will wauk the wuds our lane.²⁹

Still another serious situation, tragic in "Clerk Saunders" (No. 69), is happily turned in "The Bent Sae Brown" (No. 71), by the heroine's eloquent appeal to the king for her lover's pardon. Here, as in the *Bandamanna*

Cinquecento, N. Machiavelli's *Mandragola*, uses this folk motive for its main theme. Elizabethan comedies also exploit it; cf. N. Field's two plays, *Woman is a Weathercock*, V, 2, and *Amends for Ladies*, V, 1.

²⁹ Other English and Scottish ballads which begin in confusion and end in harmony are: "John of Hazelgreen" (No. 293), "Dugald Quin" (No. 294), "Young Peggy" (No. 298), "Blanchfleur and Jellyflorice" (No. 300), "Queen of Scotland" (No. 301)—with pronounced fairy-tale features; and a few others of the same model. "Glen Logie" (No. 238) seems to be an earlier and stronger version of the same theme.

Saga, the dark old blood vengeance morality seems to be fading out before a saner conception of justice; the lovers' rights are recognized as valid, the kinsmen's interference as unprovoked and unwarranted, their deaths therefore pardonable.

The question, "What is a misalliance?" still debated by dramatists and still far from solved, was not ignored by the balladists, probably because stories of unequal matches have always been loved by the people. A noble lady, stooping to a humble lover, detestable though she be to a polite circle, is naturally beloved for her condescension by the "lower" classes. Late and sentimental stories, like "Tom Potts" (No. 109) and "Richie Story" (No. 232), were vastly popular as romantic comedies. "The Laird of Drum" (No. 236) parodies, in a tone that suggests it is personal satire, the unequal match theme by recounting very tangible advantages to be gained by a squire who marries a girl of low degree. As the practical Laird phrases his luck:

I've married ane to wirk and win,
And ye've married ane to spend.
The last time that I had a wife
She was above my degree;
I durst not come in her presence
But with my hat on my knee.

Nothing could more perfectly express the satisfied common sense which characterizes comic pleasure.

Certainly such a cool calculation of values, such a choice of practical goods in a situation where we might look for some romantic intensity of feeling, almost push the Laird over the boundary of a comic hero's territory, and into that of farce. He is at a great distance in mood from those flying warriors who greeted us at the beginning of this study; there emotion was so tense as to exaggerate all it lighted up, the enemy was satirized as an impossible monster, his deeds as supernaturally evil or gigantically ludicrous. Here our gentleman is so calm that he can even

see his former self in the humorous guise of henpecked husband, laugh at that and congratulate himself on his hard-bought prudence.

Between these two extremes, I have tried to point out, the ballads illustrate very vividly the changes in certain important attitudes of the poets and their groups towards their problems, changes which are marked by increasing freedom from emotional tension and by consequent increasing clarity of vision. The *contrast*i or satirical wit combats show an advance in mastery over the primitive flytings in that they are comparatively peaceful in tone and realistic in color. The riddles give slightly more complex situations in a successfully worked out form, which lays down the lines for the "test comedy" and which is carried farther in some of the satiric songs commemorating the feats of a clever lass or recounting practical jokes of various kinds. The warlike triumphs of the border ballads present the dawning conceptions of larger social problems as material for song, problems then and for a long time to come solved by the efforts of heroic individuals. The romantic ballads, finally, treat of more intimate and vexed social questions, those within the group rather than those without, and express changing social sentiment towards these questions. In this last set of poems the truth is clearly seen, that better social mastery and control of one difficult problem, say the treatment of murderers, does not necessarily imply better social control in every direction: the puzzles are in a way pushed on as fast as they seem to be temporarily solved, so that there are always plenty of them to challenge attention and to find expression in tragic songs and in stories which present insoluble complexes. Comedy, whether in ballad or drama, deals not with the unsolved but with the solved problems of society and with the triumphs of individuals through wit. The hero of comedy, like Shakspeare's Orlando, always "looks successfully."

HOMELY REALISM IN MEDIÆVAL
GERMAN LITERATURE



BY CHRISTABEL FORSYTH FISKE

HOMELY REALISM IN MEDIÆVAL GERMAN LITERATURE

THE title I have chosen for this article represents one vivid impression gained from rapid, concentrated reading of many mediæval German romances, poems, sermons and didactic treatises—an impression of a literature with its feet on the soil, a literature which, for all its indulgence in the vagaries of the mediæval imagination, its strained mysticism and high-pitched romanticism, is yet touched with a fine earthiness suggestive rather of the work of Middle Norse than of Middle English writers. This composite impression, I discovered, yielded itself readily to analysis. Its realistic element was due, at least in part, to the frequency with which these old works suggested to my mind serious or desultory talk of our own times. Hugo von Trimberg mourns, like any modern educator, the failure of current pedagogic method to induce in the young habits of scholarly concentration. How can one read or write, he asks, when people cannot stay occupied with even virtuous recreation long enough for a mouse to run a mile?¹ Little birds, he exclaims in one charming passage, are content to pick up their food bit by bit—

Ein zîsel und ander vogellîn
Lesent ûf kleiniu körnelîn
Mit den si füllent ir kröpfelin.

Not so school children, who would rather swallow elephants, horses and little camels than stay long at their books.² Geiler von Kaisersberg indulges in a long diatribe

¹ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 6181-6184.

² *Ibid.*, ll. 16511-16518.

against tainted money, including among possessors of it "shooting fools," or, in modern terms, munition-makers, who invent all sorts of weapons and missiles with which to destroy fellow Christians,³ "Schiess-narren . . . [die] Armbrust oder andere wehr machen, die Christen damit zu beschedigen." Even more striking than these scattered references to general social problems that we are discussing today are suggestions of sentiments popularly attributed at present, with special emphasis, to the Germans. The theme of Walther von der Vogelweide's *Deutschland über Alles* sounds again and again in eulogies of "die alte Gerechtigkeit" of the Fatherland;⁴ the fine old god of the Rhine seems distinctly a tribal god—ein "alter," ein "deutcher" Gott—in connection with whom, on one occasion, the Christian deity appears somewhat casually as the colorless but not ineffective ally;⁵ to Germany as type of ancient civic virtue, perfidious England presents a marked contrast: "si [Wârheit] ist von Engellant vertriben."⁶ Perhaps the most interesting illustration of the fashion in which these old texts suggest modern analogies is the scene in *Flore und Blanscheflur* where the child Flore, his mother warns his father, will kill himself if separated from Blanscheflur. The words of the father in response, uttered "mit zorne,"⁷ are, though absolutely ambiguous, at least open to an interpretation implying occasional child-suicide in mediæval Germany—a phenomenon apparent not only in modern Germany, but also, of late, in our own communities in isolated instances.

It is not, however, as the title of this paper suggests, this realistic element *per se* (as illustrated by the analogies just indicated between mediæval and modern topics of discussion) that here concerns us. We are interested in it at present only as it is modified by a certain homeliness

³ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, p. 630, § I.

⁴ Fischart, *Glückhaft. Schiff*, ll. 293-295.

⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 694-708.

⁶ *Wälsch. Gast*, ll. 2464-2467.

⁷ Fleck, *Flore und Blansch.*, ll. 2450-2451, 2465-2468.

of sentiment recognized as characteristic of German temperament—a homeliness apparent, for example, in its handling of certain traditional themes. We all know how in mediæval story hermit-saints, as a rule, are poetically nourished by miraculous palm trees or paradisaical apples, or loaves brought by ravens and angels. In the German *St. Helenus*, on the other hand, God provides his holy man with cabbages.⁸ We remember, also, the fashion in which the occasional upsidedownness of the world in crises has been picturesquely expressed from time to time. Poets have variously conceived, as symbolic of such confusion, brambles bearing violets, pines bearing apples, tamarisks exuding honey, land monsters inhabiting the sea and dolphins the land, the heavens precipitated beneath the earth. It is interesting that the author of *Der Wälsche Gast* should use for such analogy a picture of an ordinary living-room turned topsy-turvy:

Die schamel die dâ solden ligen
 Under den benkn, die sint gestigen
 ûf die benke : diu banc ist
 ûf dem tisch ze langer vrist.⁹

These instances are typical of the fashion in which the homely, intimate quality of mood and mind brings us down again and again from the mystical or romantic clouds enveloping mediæval literature to the dead levels of everyday life, and illustrate the phase of German mediæval atmosphere with which we are at present concerned.

I would pause here to stress emphatically two points. First, of course, I do not for one moment maintain that these homely, realistic touches are not found in other mediæval literatures, or that some of the works I deal with do not involve foreign sources. My point is that, in my opinion, the *cumulative* effect of these touches of homely realism is especially impressive and significant in

⁸ *Väterbuch*, ll. 8999-9036.

⁹ *Wälsch. Gast*, ll. 6439-6442.

mediæval German literature; and that this fact, taken in connection with our general knowledge of the German character, would seem to indicate not only native instinct strongly guiding German genius in matters of selection and emphasis, but also native atmosphere unconsciously imbuing theme and motive, even in translation or other manipulation of borrowed material. The extreme sentimentalism, for instance, of the mediæval story of the child sweethearts is, in the German romance *Flore und Blanscheflur*, tempered here and there by touches which make the precocious little lovers seem like genuine children, laughing across at each other in their cradles, or running hand in hand to school.¹⁰

The second point I would stress before turning definitely to the task before me—that of tracing here and there through the fantastic web of German mediæval literature its thread of homespun—is the fact that it is not easy with any accuracy to indicate the degree to which in general, as compared with French or English, the intrinsic nature of the German language itself, with its downright, guttural quality, its substantial warp and woof of short, homely native words, is instrumental in producing the special type of realistic effect with which we are dealing. Take, for instance, the metaphor, common in Christian mediæval literatures, of Christ, the Lamb of God, killed and served as spiritual food to men. This metaphor has, of course, given rise to many grotesque figures applied to the Cross. One of these in German is *vleischbanc*. An English equivalent is *shambles*, and, as at present used, merely a specialized application of a bit of harmless, domestic furniture (*cf.* *Schamel*, footstool, above). The unpleasant picture it calls up is not inherent in the word itself, and its use is more or less revolting according to the vividness of our response to the associations clustered around it. Put next it the word *vleischbanc*, and the contrast is obvious. The poet addressing the Cross says,

¹⁰ Fleck, *Flore und Blansch.*, II. 599-605, 675-676.

Gotes vleischbanc was dîn nam
 . . . sîn bluot
 Dich bewuot.¹¹

The scene involved in the metaphor is brought ten times nearer than it would be by the English equivalent. As we read the passage, the heavy fumes of slaughtered cattle reek around us. This point has seemed worth while dwelling on a moment. For, if we take into consideration the chameleon-like sensitiveness to man's mind of the words he utters, it seems inevitable that a people whose language has remained even to this day so immediate a reflection of elemental entities and values—who are apt to express more involved concepts by mere compounding of simple verbal elements rather than by esoteric foreign borrowings—would naturally, in any period, from its very mental constitution, weave the substance of its homely, everyday experience rather more conspicuously into the fabric of its literature than will peoples less sensitive to the domestic and utilitarian factors in their environment.

In the first place, as illustrative of its thread of homespun, I find in this literature touches of somewhat intimate localization, so far as the place of its origin is concerned. Other lands appear occasionally to furnish background for imported princesses¹² or exotic peacocks¹³ or customs detrimental to German virtue.¹⁴ And it is interesting to see the Danish mediæval condemnation by Saxo Grammaticus of "Teutonia"—"that sink of a land . . . [whence] came magnificent dishes, sumptuous kitchens, the base service of cooks, and all sorts of abominable sausages . . . a more dissolute dress"¹⁵—thrown back by the Germans, taunt for taunt, at outlanders in general as persons who have sent "in das Teutschlandt . . . die . . .

¹¹ Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , p. 22, § XVIII, ll. 7-10.

¹² *Kudrun*, p. 3, VIII.

¹³ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, V, p. 176, l. 12.

¹⁴ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, pp. 589-590, § VI.

¹⁵ Saxo, *Dan. Hist.*, pp. 392-393.

böse sitten, das fressen und sauffen, die schandtliche und wüste kleidung.'¹⁶ In spite of such piquant exceptions, however, and the springing into some prominence, in the poems of Hans Sachs, of Turks as oppressors of Christians,¹⁷ the treatment of foreign peoples is colorless. It is different in the case of Germany herself. We read loving accounts of the founding of German cities, try to follow the maze of etymologies formed around their names,¹⁸ and learn that hell is arranged like Augsburg.¹⁹ Plentifully, for local color, flourishes the linden tree;²⁰ Herod's men refer to sausages;²¹ Judean sparrows drink out of the Rhine.²² Cabbages furnish metaphors: grimly humorous in reference to man's fall, we read in one place,

Eva, hastu gekochet guten kol,
Daz wizzen dine kinder wol.²³

Strange old bestiary beasts are drawn from their lairs to serve as symbols not for Christ or for the Devil, but for local bishops, counts, etc. The bestiary lion, roaring loud before his young who seem, disconcertingly, to be always born dead (roaring so that "walt und erde erkrachen" in order to awaken them), is the royal Bishop of Cologne roaring at Würzburg to awaken her from her sloth. The Count Ludwig von Ottingen is the spicy-breathed panther alluring and subduing inferior animals (his subjects) by the fragrance of his virtues and good deeds.²⁴ In the *Der Renner* passage dealing phonetically with the languages of the world, over against such sentimental characterizations of Hebrew, Greek and Latin, as

¹⁶ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, pp. 589-590, § VI.

¹⁷ Hans Sachs, pp. 20-33.

¹⁸ *Annolied*, *passim*; Fischart, *Glückhaft. Schiff*, ll. 453-469, 404-405, 447-452, 468-470.

¹⁹ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 290, ll. 2-12.

²⁰ *Wolfdietr.*, p. 240, ll. 486-487.

²¹ *Eger. Fronleich.*, I, 6559.

²² *Alsfeld. Passion.*, III Teil, I, 4748.

²³ Brun von Schonebeck, *Hohe Lied*, ll. 1353-1354.

²⁴ *Wartburgkr.*, p. 163, CXXXII, ll. 1-6; Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , p. 243, CDXLV.

Dise drî sprâeche sint rôsen bluomen
Vor andern ûf der werlde heide,

we get Germany's dialects gurgling and hissing and crackling at us as cozily²⁵ as do her frying "Pfanneku-chen" and "Würste" in the ears of Sebastian Brandt's homesick wanderer.²⁶

Above all, however, we find the homely local color abounding in the extremely vivid and loving personification in *Das Glückhafte Schiff* of the Rhine, as dear then to the German heart as it is now. The deep-rooted passion and sincerity of Treitschke's exclamation, "Tomorrow I shall see the Rhine for the last time; the remembrance of that noble river will maintain the purity of my heart and preserve me from evil and sorrowful thoughts to the end of my days"; Hovelague's vivid description, in commenting on this outburst of Treitschke, of the unique devotion of the German to this stream, for him a god today as it was two thousand years ago; the bitter resentment roused by the allied "Wacht am Rhein," become even more strikingly significant after a reading of this poem. Sailing from Zürich on their "Wagschiffîn,"²⁷ drawn by ties of blood and of memory toward their kinsmen in Strassburg, the burghers invoke the Rhine-god, his waters sounding "als wann ein wind bliess inn ein hül";²⁸ and he gives them back with roaring friendliness an answer beginning jovially, "Frisch dran, ir liebe Eidgenossen,"²⁹ promises them an open course to Strassburg, and cheers them on in their gallant adventure by reminiscences of the great deeds of their ancestors.³⁰ At Laufenburg, however, we lose sight, except for occasional reminiscences, of the godhood of the Rhine, and are conscious of it, for the most part, as an eager, friendly river created by God that peo-

²⁵ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 22336-22337, 22265-22270.

²⁶ Brandt, *Narrensch.*, p. 640.

²⁷ Fischart, *Glückhaft. Schiff*, ll. 170-176.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 369-374.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 285-366.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 286-366.

ple might be neighborly. The intimate relation between the stream and the towns strewn along his shores is constantly emphasized: his moods lend their names to Laufenburg³¹ and Reinfeld;³² he disconcerts the little village of Neuenburg where, in a fit of temper, he snatches destructively at its embankment;³³ while in approaching Basle, on the contrary, he curbs his erosive current because the people there have cultivated his "Talgelände"³⁴ so nicely, flowing, in token of amity, right through the city's heart.³⁵ All these quaint towns seem to lie cozily along its waters like houses on a village street, in easy neighborliness, as far as Strassburg, which rests, we read, upon its shining stream like a jewel in a ring.³⁶ In view of her later political vicissitudes, it is singularly interesting to see Strassburg lie lapped thus in her seven hundred years of German domesticity, her children running down to the shore in crowds to pick up the Zürich "Brot gnant Simelring" that the Zürichers "nach altem sitt" throw down upon the shore in token of friendliness;³⁷ her burghers burning their mouths³⁸ with the porridge it has been the boast of their visitors to bring, still hot, from Zürich;³⁹ and hanging a fair, glossy bag, "darinnen fünf-Denkpfenning," on the banner of their visitors.⁴⁰ In short, the homely German atmosphere of the poem is well symbolized by the print in a sixteenth-century edition wherein, upon the central seat of "das Glückhafte Schiff," in the midst of the rowers, steams comfortably the pot of porridge;⁴¹ and the rich ring of the German names, the recurrence of folk-customs, above all the characteristic glorification of the Rhine, are only some of the extreme illustrations of the comparatively definite internal evidence that marks, as a product of German soil, the literature with which we are dealing.

Through this environment move, there seems to me, a

³¹ Fischart, *Glückhaft. Schiff*, ll. 403-405.

³² *Ibid.*, ll. 447-452.

³³ *Ibid.*, ll. 543-550.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 472-476.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 491-498.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 275-278.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, ll. 784-791.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 824-828.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 187-190.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 970-972.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, Title-page.

greater number of simple people than, for instance, in mediæval English literature. From Berthold von Regensburg's sermons we get a really vivid sense not of ritual or ceremony or sacerdotal adornment or soaring arch or stained glass window, but of the common folk looking up earnestly at their priest and examining their hearts very anxiously lest their *Amens*, like those of the greedy man, should sound as harshly in the sensitive ears of God as the bellowing of hounds,⁴²—a fact of which Berthold has just confidently assured them. He interests and convinces them because he is so obviously speaking just to them of their own particular concerns and perplexities. No detail of their daily life is too insignificant to arouse his concern: "Rösselîn, dir tuot dîn meister unrehte . . . swenne er dich des ruowe-tages arbeitet, wan dû soltest ruowen. Daz selbe sprich ich hin ze anderm vihe unde dienern: die sint ir hêrscheften deheiner slahte dienest schuldic für baz";⁴³ and as you read you see quite vividly the twist of heads toward the parochial sinner who has robbed his faithful horse of his Sunday's meed of rest. He has an intimate and dramatic fashion of grasping and answering the natural reflections arising in the minds of his hearers. You have a sense of fair play. He lets you talk back at him, as it were. Your occasional protests or questions are not swamped in the tide of his eloquence: "Nû dar, nû dar!" "Wan alsô sprechent etelîche,"⁴⁴—such expressions occur constantly. And so effective is this method that we involuntarily image to ourselves an interested group around Brother Berthold and hear, in answer to his rebukes and admonitions, a chorus of eager or protesting voices from anxious mothers, tradesmen, farmers, etc.: "Owê, bruoder Berhtolt! jâ züge ich mîn kint vil gerne, sô wil ez mir niht volgen!" or "Bruoder Berhtolt, wie alt sol ein kint sîn, daz ez tœtlîche sünde tuot?" or "Wie, bruoder Berhtolt, waz ahtet der almehtige got ûf

⁴² Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 109, ll. 34-35.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 268, ll. 23-27.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, I, p. 492, l. 3; p. 436, l. 25.

mîn pater noster und ûf sô klein dinc! Wie möhte er dâ von sô frô gesîn?"⁴⁵ One of these dramatic protests presents to us the little group challenging him, with a certain affectionate impertinence, to a bit of concrete self-justification *à propos* of a statement he has just made about the duty of loving others as oneself, even though at that very moment he has two coats while some of them have none: "Owê, bruoder Berhtolt, jâ tuost dû des selber niht! nû bin ich dîn ebenkristenmensche unde hâst zwêne guote röcke unde hân ich einen vil böesen, unde læst mich doch ê mangeln danne dich selben."⁴⁶ It is interesting to note that the self-justification thus demanded, though obviously difficult, was quite imperturbably produced by Berthold, who, in spite of his devotion to his flock, was entirely convinced that people's coats, like their stations in life, were immutably foreordained by an inscrutable Providence. Another of these parochial exclamations, "Owê, bruoder Berhtolt, wie suln wir dar umbe getuon?"⁴⁷ was in answer to the statement of the priest that mocking and almost inescapable devils all around them "grînent sam die hunde, und scherzent sam die kelber unde grisgramment sam die lewen"⁴⁸ in a wholly disconcerting and grotesque fashion; and this really pitiful appeal to him indicates the whole-hearted sincerity with which he entered not only into their everyday manners and moralities, but also into their more subtle, spiritual anxieties. Indeed, this unseen army of devils besieging them was, after all, very closely related to everyday manners and moralities, since they chronically haunted the mediæval mind with the same sinister persistency that the unseen army of germs haunts the modern mind during an epidemic, and required equal precaution in the shape of spiritual masks, gloves, disinfectants, hand-washing, etc. Says Berthold of these devils, "Sie legent

⁴⁵ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 36, ll. 11-13; II, p. 58, ll. 16-17; I, p. 201, ll. 10-13.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, I, p. 359, ll. 11-14.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 46, ll. 1-18.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 46, ll. 1-17.

stricke unsern ougen, unsern füezen und unsern henden, unsern fünf sinnen, unsern worten, unsern werken; sie legent stricke an die strâze, an die ûzvar̃t und an die învart, unserm ezzen, unserm trinken, unserm slâfen und unserm wachen."⁴⁹ Not only are they thus active in every secular place and on every secular day, but the very church where they are sitting is full of these devils whom Berthold addresses in ejaculatory phrases to such an extent that, at least on one occasion, the sermon seems practically addressed to them.⁵⁰ We may be sure this unseen audience in their midst was very real indeed to Berthold's parishioners, the more real perhaps, because, in a fashion, he includes them within the pale of humanity, does not consider them the extremest of moral pariahs, as appears in the statement that he would rather live in a house with five thousand devils than with one heretic.⁵¹ One is inevitably reminded of another old writer who arranges, with pleasant impartiality, that, at a certain point in his miracle play, Jews or devils should dance (*Judei aut dyaboli corisant*).⁵²

These glimpses of the mind of the common man and woman which Berthold gives us are interestingly supplemented by means of more objective dealing with them by other writers. They show us the peasant "schnipp-schnapping" into church in his wooden shoes,⁵³ or a dog, far more disconcerting to a sensitive preacher than many a devil, wandering in after his mistress,⁵⁴ or "ein tummez genselîn" of a girl who elsewhere appears demure and decorous enough—

. . . wir wol swüeren
Si künde ein kelbelîn niht gefüeren
Mit einem bendelîn an die weide,—

⁴⁹ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 29, ll. 19-23.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 145-153.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, I, p. 295, ll. 15-20.

⁵² *Alsfeld. Passion.*, II, p. 598.

⁵³ Brandt, *Narrensch.*, p. 462.

⁵⁴ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, p. 463, § II.

misbehaving so that she disconcerts the officiating priest.⁵⁵ We catch, also, vigorous *genre* pictures of town and country life. On the street we pass little shops where smiths shoe horses that go lame the first mile;⁵⁶ where fishmongers hold back fish till it decays on their hands;⁵⁷ where tailors cut you scant measures of cloth.⁵⁸ Off in the country we glance into a cottage where the ham is smoking at the chimney,⁵⁹ the farmer sleeping on top of the warm oven⁶⁰ or drinking so violently that the glass breaks (*dass das Glass ein krach lasset*),⁶¹ or eating as if he were besieging a city (*gleich als einer, der ein Statt belägart*).⁶² Here cows wander slowly home from pasture;⁶³ there brood hens cackle across barnyards.⁶⁴ An awkward lad gapes at us across the fence. This figure—"der unzüchtige Mann"—is most realistically portrayed by Geiler von Kaisersberg in one of his sermons. He throws him on the screen for us, as it were, in all kinds of uncouth attitudes, this country lout who, among other gaucheries of various picturesque descriptions, speaks with grotesque contortions of his lips as if he had "*ein Haaselnuss zwischen den swen leffzen*," or "*gleich eim Eichhörnle der ein Nuss auffbeist*"; who listens with his head and his mouth "*wie ein Esell der Distel frist*"; who walks with his arms, resembling a fin-propelled "*Meerwunder*"; and, most graphic of touches, writes with his mouth and tongue.⁶⁵ In a flash, as we read these last words, we see Sam Weller writing his immortal valentine in the bar of *The Blue Boar*.

We spoke a moment ago of the meandering cows and

⁵⁵ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 12480-12493.

⁵⁶ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 147, ll. 27-30.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 150, ll. 33-35.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, p. 17, ll. 26-30.

⁵⁹ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 14200-14201.

⁶⁰ Wernher der Gartenære, *Meier Helmbr.*, ll. 854-859.

⁶¹ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, p. 315, § XXVII.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 314, § XVII.

⁶³ Vridankes *Bescheiden.*, p. 94, ll. 17-20.

⁶⁴ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, p. 122, l. 12285.

⁶⁵ Geiler von Kaisersberg, *Predigt.*, pp. 273-276.

hens of the country cottage. These meandering cows, etc., are typical, along one trickling stream of development, of the treatment of animals in this old literature. It is occasionally their homely, natural traits, as distinct from their bestial possibilities, that are in evidence. The young bird falls out of its nest;⁶⁶ the ass moves his long ears wearily;⁶⁷ the cat creeps through the "katzenvensterlîn,"⁶⁸ while her immured sisters, the "klôster katzen," clasp their booty delicately in white paws (mit irn wîzen tatzen).⁶⁹ Their economic usefulness is touched upon. By sheep, goose, swine, hen, cow, "Der König vom Odenwalde" is moved to bursts of enthusiasm. The bird chorus, he declares, would not be complete without the cackle of the hen:

Lerchen, troscheln, nahtigal,
Was die gesungen ueberal;
Und die kleinen voegellin

* * * * *

Der gesang wer gar enwiht,
Und getzten die huener niht!⁷⁰

She lays the eggs. "Davon muoz ich tihte,"⁷¹ he declares, and proceeds to enumerate, very systematically, twenty different ways of cooking these eggs, the accumulation of bubbling German gutturals suggesting the golden frothing and creaming of them into various delectable concoctions.⁷² The cow, however, is especially his object of eulogy, his enthusiasm suggesting Stevenson's immortal tribute to her. He furnishes a picturesque catalogue of her services,⁷³ from bringing steers and oxen into the world⁷⁴ to giving the devil ironic "greeting":

⁶⁶ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 13839-13841.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 5960.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, l. 4172.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 121, ll. 12283-12285.

⁷⁰ *Gedicht. des Königs*, II, ll. 41-43, 49-50.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, l. 56.

⁷² *Ibid.*, ll. 61-104.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 36-41.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I, ll. 177-178.

So nimt man denne klawen,
 Die swartzen und die grawen,
 Und drauwet paternoster druz
 Und macht dem teufel einen gruz;⁷⁵

and he proceeds to extol in scrupulous succession the limbs and features of this serviceable beast thus indefatigably furnishing leather and horn as materials for German efficiency.

So künde ich nimmer vollenklagen
 Daz ich vergezzen het des magen,⁷⁶

he exclaims; or "Noch muoz ich tihten baz," in reference to the cow's "hût" (hide).⁷⁷

I have said that the poet just quoted has mentioned twenty different ways of cooking eggs, and the poem is full of homely and appetizing German dishes. Considering its theme, this is natural; but I have noticed that figures and expressions drawn from cooking and food are frequent in this literature. The writers exhibit a lively sense of the pleasures of the table, illustrations of this gastronomic appreciation ranging from the picture of God himself, in his orchard, daintily and metaphorically eating apples—

Denne izzet mit menschlicher zucht
 Got selbin sin apfelvrucht—⁷⁸

to that other picture of the wolf (escaped, in my notes, from its leash of line-numbering), exclaiming, with ingenuous satisfaction, "Ic fülte mit ir minen magen," the reference being to the unhappy nurse of a small hero who had strayed by chance across his path. The larder is mentioned in the allegorical description of the virgin as the "himel-palas," wherein God dwells. She is said to be

⁷⁵ *Gedicht. des Königs*, II, ll. 193-196.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 221-222.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, l. 102.

⁷⁸ Brun von Schonebeck, *Hohe Lied*, ll. 8524-8531.

. . . gespîset ouch vil wol;
 . . . des lebenden brôtes vol;⁷⁹

and this familiar figure of Christ as the living bread, carried from the growing of the wheat up through its grinding and kneading and baking, is possibly, in *Vater Unser*, more fully developed⁸⁰ than in English. In a sermon of Berthold's, recommending moderation in eating, we find a homely kitchen scene conjured up for us by the metaphorical use of the stomach as a great pot by the fire (haven bî dem fiure) in the midst of the house, which must not boil over lest the food of the family be wasted. "Sô spîset man die liute alle ûz dem einigen haven, wirt unde hûsfrouwen, kinder und ander gesinde, unde dem dâ hin sînen teil unde dem hie hin sînen teil, . . ."⁸¹ Certain proverbs and humorous poems seem redolent of the appetizing odors of this comfortable kitchen. Roughly analogous to the English, "He was born with a silver spoon in his mouth," we find the German, "Ein gbratne Taub in . . . Mund;"⁸² to the English, "A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush," the German, "Ein albel ist bezzer ûf dem tisch danne in dem wâge ein michel visch."⁸³ Walther von der Vogelweide dwells appetizingly upon the advantage of cutting the spit-roast thick, "daz si . . . brâten snîden grœzer baz dan ê, doch dicker eines dûmen."⁸⁴ Another kitchen scene of Berthold's evokes its celestial equivalent. These scenes rest upon the scripture verse that is translated in English, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest"; and it is very interesting to note that the words he uses to denote the soothing climax are "Iuch spîsen." The exposition of this verse goes on, "Und wil iuch der almeh-tige got spîsen, daz wil er tuon mit aht leie spîse." These

⁷⁹ Heinrich von Krolewiz, *Vater Unser*, ll. 620, 652-653.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 126, l. 2969—p. 130, l. 3085.

⁸¹ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 432, ll. 5-20.

⁸² Brandt, *Narrensch.*, p. 535.

⁸³ Vridankes *Bescheiden.*, p. 146, ll. 13-14.

⁸⁴ Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 139, ll. 14-16.

eight kinds of food that are served to souls in heaven, are, we learn, distinguished by various and appetizing "geschmäcke"; and so earnestly in this passage is this gastronomic aspect dwelt on ("Sie kochen ez hin, sie kochen ez her, sie brâtenz hin, sie brâtenz her"),⁸⁵ that one involuntarily conceives deity as a sublimated arch-chef busy among celestial pots and pans assisted by a corps of culinarily inclined cherubs in shining aprons.

Just as this old German literature sometimes touches on the economic usefulness and natural traits of animals as opposed to their mystical bestiary possibilities, so we find it occasionally bringing to the touchstone of common sense current mediæval superstition or willfulness. One poet says he will believe people who say they can read in the stars what wonders will happen, if they will tell him a lesser thing,—what vegetables grow in their gardens.⁸⁶ Another rails thriftily at the current beliefs concerning precious stones. Some people declare, he says, that they can quench their thirst by carrying a "hanstein" in their mouths. He can quench *his* with wine and it does not cost so much. Others make boiling liquids subside by throwing in a topaz. *He* can do it with a sprinkling of cold water. Again some people can reduce a blister by binding a sapphire over it. *He* knows a way too,—sticking in a needle.⁸⁷ It is interesting to note touches of this clear-eyed common sense tempering the extravagances of monastery life as portrayed for us in *Das Väterbuch*. You woke up every morning, if an enthusiastic young monk, to the most exciting possibilities. A wolf might run into your cell any moment and drag you off on a mission; or you might entertain a devil unawares in the shape of a fascinating stranger in the guest house; or the little lamp in your cell might burst into flames, or a branch in your garden into blossoms, to betoken heaven's blessing upon you. But there were plenty of older brethren around who

⁸⁵ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 220, l. 1—p. 221, l. 2.

⁸⁶ Vridankes *Bescheiden.*, III, p. 19, ll. 1-4.

⁸⁷ *Kleinere Gedichte von dem Stricker*, XI, ll. 157-192.

had accumulated much shrewd and practical wisdom and helped you to keep your head. If you found yourself troubled with unseemly imaginings after youthful orgies, possibly, of fasting and penance, Brother Ambrose would advise you to go simply and steadily about your job;⁸⁸ if you made yourself a nuisance to everybody concerned by over-punctilious insistence on some rigid disciplinary diet, even to the extent of drinking sea water instead of wine, Brother Benedict would point out the necessity, in community life, of judicious conformity to the ways of others, if not to those of nature;⁸⁹ and when you pettishly complained that the companion with whom you had quarreled would not admit you, Brother Clement would prick good-humoredly your bubble of egotism by asking you to consider what you would have said had he opened his cell-door and let you in.⁹⁰ Such incidents as these, and as that other pretty one of young Marius springing up from his writing in his cell leaving an "o" half-made in his earnest zeal to obey his superior's summons, while the other boys dawdled and grumbled,⁹¹ touch with pleasant, homely quality our glimpses of mediæval monastery life.

The appeal to common sense illustrated in the last paragraph is consistent with the constant tendency of these writers to translate into terms of familiar simplicity more or less remote or mystical conceptions. August scenes are thus reduced to realistic vividness. In that in which Mary, meeting Christ after the resurrection, mistakes him for the gardener, the poet cannot resist his homely impulse. He turns Christ into a real gardener—or a Berlin policeman. He tells Mary severely that nice women do not run around at that time in the morning like little boys; that, moreover, she is injuring his grass:

Gut weib, sag mir,
Wen suchstu, oder was gewirt dir?

⁸⁸ *Väterbuch*, ll. 18339-18344, 18346.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 19241-19344.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 22783-22796.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ll. 21659-21690.

Es ist nit frummer fraüen recht,
 Das si laüffen, als die knecht,
 Also frü in disem garten,
 Recht, ob si des kraüs wolten warten.
 Du verderbst mir das gras:
 Ich sag dir das an allen has,
 Du hast mirs an allen stetten
 In die erdt nider getretten;
 Darumb las dirs nit wider farn,
 Oder ich wolt dir die streich nit sparn.⁹²

The metaphor involved in the word "garment," along both lines of its conventional development, runs off finally into quaint extremes of realistic quality. Along one of these lines we have "garment" treated as a transferred metaphor for the body. The effect is most singular when this figure is applied to divinity clothing itself in human flesh:

. . . Jhesus
 . . . sich von dem hemel nedir liz
 * * * * * * *
 Und . . . zoch an sich des menschen sak,⁹³

we read in one place. The instance that chiefly interests us, however, is the one where God is called "Der snîder" by the Virgin Mary, who explains herself by saying, concerning the incarnation, through her, of Christ, that God, having cut her out a garment (her body), liked it so well that out of it he cut a little one for himself:

Ein snîder sneit mir mân gewant,
 Sîn sin den spæhen list ervant;
 Dô mich gebrîset het sîn hant,
 Er sach mich an unt kôs mân kleider, als ein meister
 kiesen sol:
 Dô stuonden mir mân kleider ûz der ahte wol,
 Dazz im gevielen sâ ze hant in sînem muot;
 Er tet ein spæhe, diu was nûzlich unde guot:

⁹² *Eger. Fronleich.*, ll. 7979-7990.

⁹³ Brun von Schonebeck, *Hohe Lied*, ll. 2137-2142.

Die wîl und ich mîn kleider truoc,
 Er was sô kluoc,
 Daz er ûz mînen kleiden sneit im kleider an,
 Diu wâren baz dan mîniu kleider vil getân,
 Unt doch mîn kleider bliben ganz
 Ân allen bruch, ân allen wanc, ân allen schranz,
 Vîn unde lûter, schœne ob aller schœne, glanz:
 Der meister heizet meister.
 Als er diz wunderlîche kleit
 Het wunderlîche an sich geleit,
 Ez was sô wît unt was sô breit,
 Daz ez beslôz den grôzen, der dâ himel und erde in
 henden hât.
 Doch wart an im verschrôten sint diu selbe wât.⁹⁴

The other line along which the word "garment" develops metaphorically seems to be suggested by some such scriptural expressions as, "We in Christ and Christ in us," or "Whosoever has put on Christ." At any rate he is called "Ein wunneclîch gewant," and our happy estate, "wêre er danne unser cleit," or "hêten [wir] Cris-tum an gezogen,"⁹⁵ is feelingly depicted. Christ is not only thus conceived of as being himself "a winsome garment" for the clothing of trembling sinners; the author of *Martina* drags the alluring bestiary panther forth from his comfortable cave that his many-colored coat may stand for the many-virtued coat that Christ himself wears, the many-virtued coat of his righteousness.⁹⁶ The illustration of this garment metaphor, however, which we have chiefly in mind, is that in which, in the same poem, God, der Snîder, is represented as cutting out a very stylish ("nach guoten sitten") wardrobe for Saint Martina herself, a wardrobe composed of virtues:

Dar ubir hat ir got gesnitten,
 Ein rock nach guoten sitten;

* * * * *

⁹⁴ Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , p. 10, XIV, ll. 1-19.

⁹⁵ *Der Sünden Widerstr.*, ll. 280, 283-284.

⁹⁶ Hugo von Langenstein, *Martina*, p. 244, l. 109—p. 246, l. 50.

Got hate der wandils frien
 Eine suggenien
 Ubir den rock gesnitten wol,

and so on, until she is provided with "hemde," "mantel," "fürspan," "gürtel," all complete, and, as a final detail, with a wreath—

Got saztir uf ir hovbit,
 Als megden ist irlovbit
 Ein rich geblüemtes schappel⁹⁷

with which he had taken very special pains ("Got selbir zierit"). It may be interesting in passing to mention another singular instance of deity conceived in terms of trade. The Virgin Mary, in a poem composed of a string of metaphors,—“Ich binz, ein zuckersüezer brunne,” etc.—says astonishingly,

Der smit von oberlande
 Warf sînen hamer in mîne schôz.⁹⁸

Upon this ground of everyday reality stand at times, in this literature, the mediæval woman and the mediæval child, the one escaping, in these instances, from the glamour of romance, the other from the gloom of orthodox religious legend. In the case of the woman, the realistic quality involved is different from that characterizing the Norse Saga women, for instance, who stand aggressively shoulder to shoulder with their men in the perils and uncertainties of Icelandic colonization. This realistic quality is chiefly present in the treatment of the domestic aspects of women. The conduct of the wife of Ortnit and the sweetheart of Orendel to persons who have not used sufficient consideration toward their lords is very natural and piquant, the spiciness lying in the spiritual status of the objects of their wrath. At some misfortune befalling Ortnit, Frouwe Liebgart does not mince matters at all with

⁹⁷ Hugo von Langenstein, *Martina*, p. 37, l. 69—p. 63, l. 101.

⁹⁸ Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , p. 7, XI, ll. 1-2.

Saint Marcellian, going straight to his chapel and calling him roundly to account as an ingrate unmoved by all her offerings at his shrine. "Ungetriuwer sant Marcellîân," she exclaims,

Ich opfert dir alle morgen drî guldîn lobesam.
Daz tete ich allez ûf die genâde dîn,
Daz du, ungetriuwer trûgenær, huotest den hêrren mîn.⁹⁹

This is fairly strong language, if only to a saint; but Orendel's maiden goes even farther. She makes it quite plain that she will stand no nonsense even from deity himself:

. . . du himelischer hêre,

she exclaims, when she hears Orendel is captured,

Behüet mir den degen hêre
Oder ich wil dînen alter zertrechen,
Dîn heiltuom wil ich brechen;
Heiligez grab unsers hêren,
Ich enlâz dir kein opfer nimmer mêre.¹⁰⁰

All this illustrates very well the way an irritated and anxious person may behave; and the fact that it happens to be supernatural beings they are bullying, falls in nicely with the tendency we have already noticed on the part of these writers to interpret their material in simple human terms.

It is in their treatment of the motive of motherhood, however, that one finds these writers especially appealing. This motive is handled with singular charm and simplicity, occasionally with palpable humor, as in the case of the pagan queen who, prompted by divine inspiration to take her child to a Christian hermit, sees with naïve and natural perturbation his little body plunged into icy baptismal waters, and who later, in answer to the holy man's injunction that she keep the christening garment

⁹⁹ *Wolfdietr.*, pp. 275-276.

¹⁰⁰ *Orendel*, ll. 2373-2392.

for the baby to wear to battle when he grows up, exclaims with admirable common sense that it will be too small for him:

Sô wirt ez im ze kleine, fürhte ich, . . .
Ez wirt in sînem alter ein ungefüeger man.¹⁰¹

How could *she* know of the little robe that Mary made for the child Jesus which grew with his growth,¹⁰² a phenomenon transferred to other unimpeachable Christian heroes? Genuine pathos is also in evidence. The mother waking in the cold dawn to find her child gone from her,¹⁰³ or eagerly searching on the body of the tiny stranger for the verifying birthmark,¹⁰⁴—these stock motives blossom anew, under the real feeling of the writer, into moving beauty. Remarkable for poignancy is the portrayal of the motherhood of the Virgin in *Fronleichnamsspiel*. There is for her no trace of comfort springing from realization of her august mission. Rather, like the Botticelli-Pater Virgin, she resents and rejects it. She is a mere agonized human creature caught in the toils, pitifully begging her son to “find another way”;¹⁰⁵ demanding of Gabriel, who at the Crucifixion appears quite incomprehensibly and very effectively beside her, why he had *ever* called her “Mary full of Grace”:

Do sprachst du: Ave, gracia plena,
Der herr ist mit dir . . .
Nun frag ich dich und sag da bei
Wie ich doch voller gnaden sei,
So ich an dem himelschen vatter nicht findt,
Gnad zu beweisen mein liepsten kindt?¹⁰⁶

clinging to Christ's body when it is taken from the cross, exclaiming in the unreasoning frenzy of grief,

¹⁰¹ *Wolfdietr.*, p. 84, XXVI, XXVIII-XXIX.

¹⁰² Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 3638-3639, 3656, 3672-3673.

¹⁰³ *Wolfdietr.*, p. 95, CXXI-CXXII.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188, CXXXIX-CXLI.

¹⁰⁵ *Eger. Fronleich.*, p. 133, l. 3676.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 3689-3694.

Ich hab Jhesum zu der erden pracht;
Die weil er lebt, do was er mein,
Er sol auch tot bei mir sein.
Ir solt in nindert hin tragen;¹⁰⁷

and finally receiving it into her arms with tender crooning words.¹⁰⁸ It is moving to see her here applying to the poor racked body the adjective "zart," a word which seems rather peculiarly used, in this literature, of the delicately blooming beauty of a child, and which she herself years before, in her young adoration of the marvelous babe, had joined in exquisite union with the noun expressive of supreme triumphant power, "schöpfer": "zarter schöpfer mein," is the lovely, surprising phrase.¹⁰⁹ Another bit of poignant contrast is that emphasized by the veil-motive. In one old poem, the verse trips along, gay and ballad-like, as we read, of Christ's babyhood, how

Do Jhesus lag im krippelein,
In kant daz rint und daz eselein:
Mit irem schlair dekt in die rein,
Die muter mait Maria.¹¹⁰

The memory of this charming manger-camaraderie lends bitter point to the scene of the cross in *Fronleichnamspiel*, where Mary pitifully offers to the soldiers her "schlärlein" to bind about her son's pale, naked body "das er nit so jemerlich blos stee so gar an alles kleidt."¹¹¹

This stress upon their strongly developed elemental affections makes very convincing the portrayal of women dragged, under stress of war, out of congenial domesticity. In these instances there are not many hints, I think, as I have said before, of the aggressive instinct which drives the mediæval Scandinavian women out into open warfare.

¹⁰⁷ *Eger. Fronleich.*, ll. 7131-7134.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 7146-7151.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, l. 1623.

¹¹⁰ *Auswahl Geistl. Dicht.*, p. 308, ll. 32-35.

¹¹¹ *Eger. Fronleich.*, p. 235, ll. 6209-6212.

Owê, dâ wart geunvreut,
 Maneger hôhen vrouwen lîp.
 Sît beweinten ez diu wîp.
 Swaz den mannen leides geschiht
 Daz lâzents unbeweinete niht,—¹¹²

this, in a description of wailing women at the border of the battlefield; and one learns to look for this aura of harassed womanhood enveloping the warlike activities of men:

Dô giengen die vrouwen von der stat
 Mit elegendlichem leide,
 Als ich iu nû bescheide,
 Vür des hoves porten.
 Mit gelîchen worten
 Islîchîu sprechen began
 Wider ir kint und zuo ir man.

* * * * *

Mit weinen solch unmâzen
 Wart dâ sêre getân
 Beidiu von vrouwen und von man.

Mit dirre grôzen herzen sêr
 Kom ein mässenîe her
 Baz danne tûsent vrouwen.

* * * * *

Die begunden vallen âne zal
 Vür Ermrîche zetal.¹¹³

Her realization of herself as a chattel to be handed over to the conqueror in case of defeat is strikingly vivid. Uote crying after Hildebrand to ask with whom he means to leave her, for safety, when he goes to war, becomes a typical figure:

Owê mir dirre smerze,
 Den ich hiut muoz an dir sehen!
 Lieber herre, wie sol mir geschehen,
 Swenn ir vart iuwer strâze?
 Saget mir, wem man mich lâze.¹¹⁴

¹¹² *Dietrichs Flucht*, p. 195, ll. 8900-8904.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 105, ll. 3086-3096; p. 123, ll. 4291-4310.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 124, ll. 4360-4364.

In fact I have come to believe that the constant conventional statement of the universality of interest of women in a given hero ("Nâch im manic schœne vrouwe segente, diu im heiles bat," ". . . dem wâren schœne vrouwen holt," etc.)¹¹⁵ springs originally not from romantic interest in a young and beautiful knight, but from deep-seated realization of their economic dependence, their status as chattels of war, whose safety and honor at any moment may depend upon the success of a given champion.

On coming to the subject of children as occasionally touched upon attractively in this literature, one's mind almost instinctively conjures up a list of diminutives and double diminutives,—sees Berthold's "kleiniu kindelîn," for instance, trundling gayly along to heaven "ûf ir kleinen wegelînen" composed of their infant "rightnesses"¹¹⁶ well ahead of their elders who followed staidly along upon the often cumbersome "wagen" of their more developed virtues. "Daz liebe kindelîn,"¹¹⁷ Jesus, lies in the "krippelein,"¹¹⁸ and the Virgin sets him, for his morning tub, in his "batscheffelîn":¹¹⁹ the caressing habit of thus applying diminutives is inveterate and sincere. And almost a complement to it is the use of the adjective "zart" with an implication in it of a certain exquisite earthiness quite differentiating its objects from the strained holiness of mediæval child saints. This exquisite earthiness of quality is well illustrated by the picture of Jesus in *Marienleben*, the description of whose rosy whiteness and winsomeness ends with allusion to his charming dimple:

Sîn kinne was ouch sinewel
Schoene ân aller slahte meil,
Und mitten het ein grüebelîn!¹²⁰

¹¹⁵ *Alpharts Tod*, p. 16, CXVII; *Ecken Liet*, p. 219, II, l. 5.

¹¹⁶ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 162, ll. 10-16.

¹¹⁷ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, l. 2890.

¹¹⁸ *Auswahl Geistl. Dicht.*, p. 308, ll. 32-35.

¹¹⁹ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 3018-3020.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, ll. 5046-5048.

The lovely simplicity with which the mediæval child is thus treated occasionally in this literature stands out against the usual grim background of conventional creed. He weeps when he comes into the world, and well he may, in view of the fact that (according to Berthold), from the moment when, after conception, God's angel poured a soul into his slowly burgeoning body ("sô giuzet im der engel die sêle in"),¹²¹ devils have been hovering around with the amiable intention of keeping him, first, from being successfully born at all, and second, from being christened.¹²² Nothing makes these devils of Berthold's seem more like fussy, malicious realities than the petty snares they laid before the baby's birth in the path of the guileless young mother;¹²³ and the tubs of water, fires, etc., they arrange later into which the child may be dropped casually by a careless nurse.¹²⁴ And we can actually see them on one occasion hovering exulting around a little sick victim held tenderly in his father's arms, exulting because his baby profanity on the playground has thrown him immutably into their clutches.¹²⁵ It is wonderful, however, to see how often the child in mediæval German literature escapes from this nightmare orthodoxy into simplicity and charm. We see types of children common in every generation: the overfed, pampered child ("Sô ist im sîn hevelîn kleine, und sîn megelîn kleine"),¹²⁶ the child decked out "mit swenzeln, ermelehen unde scheppelehen,"¹²⁷ the little street vandal mocking at strangers.¹²⁸ Sympathy with childhood leads often to lovely naturalness of language. "Lâ dîn weinen sîn umbe daz boese krüegelîn,"¹²⁹ says the child Jesus to the little boy who has broken his pitcher at the well. Berthold is

¹²¹ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 30, ll. 31-33.

¹²² *Ibid.*, I, p. 31, ll. 1-10, 25-27.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, I, p. 31, ll. 14-16.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32, ll. 10-12.

¹²⁵ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 13735-13754.

¹²⁶ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, II, p. 205, ll. 31-35.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. 416, ll. 13-19.

¹²⁸ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 12611-12616.

¹²⁹ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 4438-4439.

careful to prescribe that punishment be administered to children in little blows (*smitzelîn*), by means of little rods (*rüetelîn*), made of little twigs (*rîselîn*).¹³⁰ These writers dwell on bright images of childhood,—the baby catching at wild roses hanging over the brook,¹³¹ or mistaking his reflection in the mirror for another baby:

Nu merket, daz swenn diu kint
In einen spiegel sehende sint,
Daz kumt niht von grôzem sinne
Daz si wænent daz dar inne
Ein kint sî daz mit in spil.¹³²

These bright images are turned to for figurative use: the awakening soul is like some young sleepy thing unwilling to be roused.¹³³ Nice adaptation of elements is illustrated by

Vîol und gras in schœnen boumgarten
Krûs hâr und gel ûf kindes swarten.¹³⁴

They brood over deity lying in a cradle: “*der zarte minneclîche got,*” “*vil edeler sûezer zarter got.*”¹³⁵ Indeed, the fervent love of these writers for adult deity, if I may so express it, is apt to reveal itself in terms of childhood. The Second Person of the Godhead planning, in full self-consciousness, to come to save mankind, is called “*daz himel-kindelîn*”;¹³⁶ the angels watching at the sepulchre, in their rebuke of the rough soldiers for the noise they are making, and in their words addressed to the sacred corse, seem like nurses guarding a child’s slumber from disturbance by unruly little brothers.¹³⁷ The conception of him “of whom the heaven and abyss are full,” choosing

¹³⁰ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, I, p. 35, ll. 5, 7, 10.

¹³¹ *Wolfdietr.*, p. 91, XCI.

¹³² *Wälsch. Gast*, p. 99, ll. 3627-3631.

¹³³ *Auswahl Geistl. Dicht.*, p. 216, XI, ll. 3-4.

¹³⁴ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 17387-17388.

¹³⁵ Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , p. 159, CCLXXVIII, l. 14; p. 127, CCVII, l. 1.

¹³⁶ *Erlösung*, p. 32, l. 1037.

¹³⁷ *Alsfeld. Passion.*, III Teil, ll. 6993-6996.

the body of a tiny unborn child for his habitation, is exquisitely expressed in the following lines:

Dîn reiner lîp beslôz
 Den, der al der werlt ze grôz
 Wær ze besliezen.
 Sîn sint die himel alle vol,
 Dîu abgründ er erfüllet wol.
 Lâz uns geniezen,
 Werdiu maget, daz er was sô kleine,
 Dô in beslôz dîn lîp algemeine,
 Maget reine.¹³⁸

One most interesting instance of this tendency to express lofty conceptions in terms of childhood is the description of the joy in heaven after the resurrection of Jesus. The scene is for all the world like a children's birthday celebration. It is the Christkindlein himself, as center of the festivity, who dances and sings and makes flower wreaths, giving red ones, as is fitting, to the martyrs, white ones to the virgins, etc. Later Mary sets him at a table and feeds him with claret and little cakes.¹³⁹ It may be said in passing that this sympathy of the German with childhood leads them to dwell, unlike the Norse who stress his fast-developing manhood, on the immaturity of the adolescent youth. The delicacy and beauty of young Alphart, constantly called "der kindische degen,"¹⁴⁰ daunt the enemies coming against him. They exclaim remonstratingly that they distinctly prefer to fight men of their own size:

Lâz uns ûz den Wûlfingen nemen ein versuochten degen.
 Dû bist ein kint der jâre, einen andern lâz der warte
 phlegen.¹⁴¹

We see the boy Dietrich gazing with youthful adoration at the seasoned knights: "Die wâren sîn morgensterne,"¹⁴² we read. The impressions of the mature intel-

¹³⁸ *Seifried Helbling*, p. 236, ll. 91-99.

¹³⁹ *Bruder Philipps Marienleb.*, ll. 8676-8716.

¹⁴⁰ *Alpharts Tod*, p. 48, CDX.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 13, LXXXIX.

¹⁴² *Dietrichs Flucht*, p. 58, ll. 69-70.

lectual poise of the boy Jesus, disputing with the doctors in the temple, are tempered by his clinging to Joseph's hand on his way home ("swenn müede wart der heilant").¹⁴³

It would not be unnatural that one element making for this strongly marked sympathy with children should be a certain childishness in the German mind, their naïve capacity for vexed astonishment, for instance, that other people will not accept postulates to them as clear as day; their enjoyment of simple and even juvenile amusements. I know a German woman who plays dolls systematically and a German man whose favorite amusement is toy soldiers. In like fashion, in a surprising number of instances, these old writers seem, like the modern German toymaker in the Black Forest, to be carving out playthings. They amuse themselves with typical mediæval figures, cutting them out in miniature, as it were, as Xerxes is fabled in *Schachgedicht* to have cut out chessmen,—tiny merchants and farmers and smiths, etc.,—among whom are especially engaging an innkeeper,¹⁴⁴ "wîngeschirre und . . . brôt" in hand, his keys on a ring; and a "buobe,"¹⁴⁵ with his thick curly hair, his "würfel und gelt," his letterbag at his girdle. The centaur galloping into this literature from classic lore has its miniature representative appearing "niderhalp" "als ein kleinez rös-selîn, wolgemachet unde fîn."¹⁴⁶ Even angels and devils have their small counterparts. It is four precocious *little* angels—why little?—who help push Lucifer out of heaven;¹⁴⁷ and a *little* devil who, with a wail, looses a white dove as Christ bows his head to die.¹⁴⁸ The romantic lady appears reduced to her small sister's proportions in the charming little-girl love of Sir Gawain, in *Parzival*,—Obilot, "diu junge süeze klâre," playing at rings in the

¹⁴³ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 4840-4841.

¹⁴⁴ Heinrich von Beringen, *Schachgedicht*, p. 254, ll. 7664, 7674, 7676.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 8553, 8555, 8558, 8560, 8563-8564.

¹⁴⁶ Heinrich von Neustadt, *Apollonius*, p. 40, ll. 8249-8254.

¹⁴⁷ Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁸ Eger, *Fronleich.*, p. 253.

castle yard, who, realizing at last her father's plight, runs off boldly to Sir Gawain with her attendant troop of noble children; meets his laughing casual statement that, if knights fought for such little maidens he would fight for her, with a dauntless acceptance of this vaguely proffered homage; promises with delicious childish portentousness, in answer to his vows of service, to be his gracious and loyal mistress; and finally, dressed in a stiff and splendid little gown made especially for the occasion, sends him off with her rich, small sleeve as token.¹⁴⁹ Above all, however, these writers love to play with the figure of the knight full-fledged or budding, in the form, for instance, of Zwergkönig Laurin, bearing his little shield and buckler,¹⁵⁰ or of that other gallant dwarf defending his tiny honor against the doughty Hildebrand himself who has exclaimed with ill-timed jocoseness on seeing him, "Ich forcht, es wolle fechten mit mir um dise speise hie."¹⁵¹ A very charming figure, also, is the little raven-squire of St. Oswald with his gilded feathers and beak, his silvered claws, and his "wazzerperlîn" dangling from his legs.¹⁵² His dainty humanization is well carried out. He is "vil liber rabe" to his lord, to whom he does vassal service;¹⁵³ he plays chess with the courtiers;¹⁵⁴ he has personal service rendered him by noble maidens who adorn him with silk and purple and jewels¹⁵⁵ even as Odyssean maidens clad visiting strangers in rich robes from cedarn chests. Above all he shows knightly quality in his sense of outraged honor when his lord has forgotten him, leaving him to eat with the swine who have ruffled his feathers. He will not go thus disheveled before the princess! Not he!¹⁵⁶

¹⁴⁹ Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, VII, p. 24, l. 9—p. 30, l. 30.

¹⁵⁰ *Laurin und Walberan*, p. 204, ll. 51-99; p. 205, ll. 5-30.

¹⁵¹ *Dietr. Erst. Ausf.*, pp. 130-131, CCCLVI-CCCLVIII.

¹⁵² *Der Wiener Oswald*, ll. 115, 117, 118, 607-608.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, ll. 135-136.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, ll. 246-287.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ll. 597-629.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, ll. 861-864, 840-843.

Nu setze mir di crone recht,
Min gefidere mache slecht,¹⁵⁷

he orders peremptorily. All these small figures seem as much playthings as modern German Christmas toys,—are as quaint and engaging as the inimitable gnomes and Christkindlein on their Christmas post-cards.

This fondness for toylike miniature manifests itself in cases other than those involving typical mediæval figures. To one conventional motive of the *Apocrypha*—that of the palm trees bending before Christ—is added the charming worship of him in the same fashion by flowers and grass:

Doch swaz ûf dem velde was,
Bluomen krût, loup unde gras,
Daz enmohten niht gelâzen,
Sî nigen alle zuo der strâzen,
Dâ die heiligen hin giengen.¹⁵⁸

Often scenes in Scripture seem to be thus played with. That in which the Jews at the crucifixion surround Christ on the cross, mocking his assumption of royal dignity, has surely its foil and echo in *Marienleben* where in Christ's childhood, the other children, loving him, thinking him a "götelîn," set him in their midst crying, "Gelobt sî unser künec."¹⁵⁹

In a second strange and attractive way is manifested in this old literature the streak of childlikeness in the German mind, namely, a certain fashion it has of playing with words even in serious or impressive connections, this playing with words often falling into certain repetitional combinations suggestive of children's games. This is the more interesting taken in connection with the really fine realization evident among our writers of the significance of words as vehicles of thought and sound, a realization evidenced in the following lines:

¹⁵⁷ *Der Wiener Oswald*, ll. 875-876.

¹⁵⁸ *Bruder Philipps Marienleb.*, ll. 2874-2878.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, ll. 3720-3745.

Eine schrift di brudit di andir uz,
 Also sin eier tut der struz.¹⁶⁰
 Edel gesteine, wûrze und wort
 Habent an kreften grôzen hort :
 Noch kreftiger sint diu wort doch eine
 Denne alle wûrze und edel gesteine.¹⁶¹
 Sam von der sunnen tuot der schîn,
 Ouch sam von dem brunnen schiuzet
 Diuzet, vliuzet
 Ein rinne. . . .
 Wie biltsam ûz des herzen schrîn
 Sich daz wort mit willen dringet,
 Swinget, slinget.
 Sus gebar der vater sîn,
 Den sun.¹⁶²

The above quotations, the first emphasizing the generating capacity of words, the second, their power, greater than that of mystical gems and healing herbs, the third their inherent sincerity, illustrate the graver psychological appreciation of the nature of words apparent in these writings. As genuine and just is this appreciation when it appears in lighter form. For Hugo von Trimberg, the letters of the alphabet spring out of the staid procession into gay little characters to be wondered at and caressed!

Die sint sô wirdic und sô schœne,¹⁶³

cries he, and later dwells on the lively traits of *o*, a most engaging vowel:

O schricket, rüefet, wünschet, wundert,¹⁶⁴

he assures us, its temperament being, apparently, in striking contrast to that of "der vil ture buchstabe *a*," a dreamy letter, buried mystically "mit den [andern] vil kleinen buchstaben" in the sacred word *Ave*.¹⁶⁵ Against

¹⁶⁰ Brun von Schönebeck, *Hohe Lied*, p. 31, ll. 1014-1015.

¹⁶¹ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 17773-17776.

¹⁶² Heinrich von Meissen, *Leiche, Sprüche* . . . , pp. 16-17, II, st. 3.

¹⁶³ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, l. 22239.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, l. 22247.

¹⁶⁵ Brun von Schönebeck, *Hohe Lied*, ll. 2233-2240.

the background of such fine conceptions of words and the thought-elements and sound-elements composing them, it is interesting to throw the childish habit to which I referred above, namely, that of using them as means of merely tickling the ear. It is singular how often, as I have said, the verse falls into the jingle suggesting children's games. They are particularly fond of playing with rhymes embodying various rhyming words: "Pfenninc kan singen, springen, ringen, etc."¹⁶⁶ This tendency is natural enough in light verse, but it appears, also, in serious and impressive connections. In the passage we have quoted illustrating the sincerity of words, for instance, coming as they do "ûz des herzen schrîn," the words "diuzet, vliuzet," "swinget, slinget," rhyming with "schiuzet" and "dringet," respectively, threaten to injure, though they do not succeed in so doing, the dignity of the passage. Herodias's daughter sings a grim little doggerel which would have motivated finely a ring-around game for the young demons who appear in the same play:

Nu wole mich, nu wole mich!
Johannes heubet tragen ich!
Johannes heubet hon ich hie:
Des hon ich begeret ie!¹⁶⁷

These young devils do actually surround Lucifer's throne singing,

Lucifer, in dem throne—ryngelyn—ryss!
Der was eyngel schone—ryngelyn ryss!¹⁶⁸

In fact, one could form any number of interesting children's games from suggestions contained in this literature: The Virgin's Progress, for instance, at the Assumption, from hierarchy to hierarchy of angels, each step introduced by some such formula as

Ûz dem kôr Mariâ vuor
Und kom in den andern kôr;

¹⁶⁶ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, l. 18997.

¹⁶⁷ *Alsfeld. Passion.*, II, p. 602, ll. 1026-1029.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ll. 138-140.

while each hierarchy receives her with some such welcome as

Willekomen, maget reine,

or

Wilkomen, spiegel aller vrouwen,

the epithets of the conventional Mary-lists being freely utilized. The cherubs are especially jubilant as they circle around her singing. Afterwards there is a grand round, the head singer being Michael, the leaders Gabriel and Mary, while David follows with his harp singing at this jubilee:

Die engel mit den sêlen sungē,
Die sêle mit den engeln sprungē,
Vorsinger was sand Mychahêl
Den reien vuort sand Gabriêl.
Er vuort Marien mit der hant,
Die heiligen volgten alle samt.
Mit sîner harpfen her Dâvît
Sanc ouch zuo der hôchzît.¹⁶⁹

The strong instinct of these writers for everyday homeliness lends naturally a certain unique emotional value to parts of this literature. There is, of course, plenty of mere pretty sentimentalizing, such as applying to Christ's blood the adjective "rôsenfarbez";¹⁷⁰ and some subtlety as, for instance, Berthold's dealing with a certain pathos inherent, for a temperament like Peter's, in the static condition of heaven, where nobody can ever add any more to his hoard of virtues.¹⁷¹ But a genuine simplicity of feeling is often in evidence. We have spoken of the success with which the motives of motherhood and childhood are handled. Everywhere strong feeling for home and the relationships involved is apparent, a feeling evi-

¹⁶⁹ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 9630-9631, 9660-9698, 9770-9773, 9856-9863.

¹⁷⁰ *Orendel*, p. 3, l. 71.

¹⁷¹ Berthold von Regensburg, . . . *Predigt.*, II, p. 178, ll. 23-27.

denced delightfully on the one hand in the following charming little rhapsody:

Diu klâren condiment
Sint mir dicke tiure
Bî mînem kleinen viure.
Daz wil ich lâzen alsô sîn.
Ich trinke gerner frischen wîn
In mîner herberge
Dann ab dem Nuzzberge,¹⁷²

and, poignantly, on the other, in the lamenting of the homesick Tristan¹⁷³ and in von Trimberg's description of the desolateness of the friendless man:

Wê dem armen, der nieman hât
Ze dem er trôst, hilfe oder rât
Suoche in kummer oder in nœten!
Den mac schier tegelich sorge tœten!¹⁷⁴

This domestic feeling is obvious also in the pathetic grief at the severance of domestic ties by monastic life, longing of sister for brother, of mother for son.¹⁷⁵ Kinship of spirit as well as of blood is dwelt upon,—a picture, here, of the easy evening mirth of friends sitting together by the fire, a definition, there, of true neighborliness as not depending on close proximity.¹⁷⁶ It is interesting to note in this connection that this sensitiveness to ties of friendship and affection sometimes makes quite moving and convincing their treatment of even hackneyed themes. The first emotion of God on finding Lucifer aspiring to his throne is not that of disciplinary fury, as in the usual mediæval treatment of this motive, but the grief of a great and greatly wounded love;¹⁷⁷ and, in *Marienleben*, Christ's first act after his resurrection is to hurry off at

¹⁷² *Seifried Helbling*, p. 67, ll. 12-18.

¹⁷³ Gottfried von Strassburg, *Tristan und Isolde*, p. 78, ll. 2587-2617.

¹⁷⁴ Hugo von Trimberg, *Der Renner*, ll. 18117-18120.

¹⁷⁵ *Väterbuch*, ll. 21703-21764.

¹⁷⁶ Fischart, *Glückhaft. Schiff*, ll. 755-761.

¹⁷⁷ *Eger. Fronleich.*, ll. 119-129.

once to find Peter,¹⁷⁸ presumably to comfort him in his bitter remorse. "Grîfent har an mîne hant," the writer makes Jesus say affectionately to Abraham and Moses and Adam and Melchisedec and other august, but doubtless somewhat dazed, patriarchs, as he leads them after his resurrection up from the shade of Limbo to the sunshine of Paradise.¹⁷⁹ These fresh, singular touches of imagination vivify even outworn situations in saints' legends and in romances. Among the group of pagan lover-persecutors of Christian maidens, who are generally piling up fagots or plying the thumbscrew with the amiable object of converting their sweethearts and winning their affections, it is amazing to find the heathen Olybrius, unable to bear the sufferings of his beloved, covering his eyes with his cloak and turning away.¹⁸⁰ One exquisite emotional touch is found in the old romance-situation of a woman found dying in the forest giving birth to a child. In this case the child, also, dies; and the warrior Wolfdietrich, who has found them accidentally, cries out, in completely natural momentary identification of himself with his protégées,

Got hêrr von himele . . .

Nu lâz dir mînes toten sêle enpholhen sîn.¹⁸¹

In the fashions above indicated, then, I have found German mediæval literature touched with intimate, domestic quality. This thread of homespun, however, is but a very slender one, affecting only slightly the whole incongruous mediæval German fabric. Or, to change the metaphor,—the plain, quaint little figure which, in true mediæval fashion, has gradually become for me the personification of this intimate, homely phase of the German mind, has been very inconspicuous, lost continually among the mystical or romantic personages thronging fantastically or

¹⁷⁸ Bruder Philipps *Marienleb.*, ll. 8058-8061.

¹⁷⁹ *Osterspiel*, p. 233, l. 144.

¹⁸⁰ *Passional*, p. 329, ll. 86-90.

¹⁸¹ *Wolfdietr.*, p. 290, DCCCXLVIII.

brilliantly the pages I have read. Such as it is, however, it is more in evidence, I think, than in most other mediæval European literatures, and, therefore, not only intrinsically interesting, but also, from the comparative point of view, at least suggestively significant.

LITIGATION IN ENGLISH
SOCIETY



BY JAMES FOSDICK BALDWIN

LITIGATION IN ENGLISH SOCIETY

IN a council of his barons held at Merton in 1236, King Henry III proposed to change the law of the realm regarding legitimacy of children, so as to bring it into harmony with the more enlightened usage of the church. There can hardly be any question as to the desirability of this reform, but the barons were then averse to it, and answered firmly, "We are unwilling to change the laws of England." There was in this no expression of patriotism or pride in the superiority of the native system. It was rather an assertion of the prevailing idea that the law was the possession of Englishmen, their very own, and for better or worse was to be upheld as a matter of self-interest and vested right. The same thought is affirmed by Bracton, the greatest lawyer of the age, when he says, "In England, the law which has no written origin is that which usage has established."¹ So for centuries it was the aim of parliament not to further reforms, but to maintain the law of the land in all its original purity and integrity. This to the mind of the Middle Ages was liberty. A Venetian ambassador in the fifteenth century remarked upon this trait, as it seemed to him, of insular conservatism. Said he, "And if the king should propose to change any old established rule, it would seem to every Englishman as if his life were taken away from him."² And yet in spite of this prevailing feeling the common law was a matter of perpetual growth. Evolving out of the customs of the people, it "broadens down from precedent to precedent," and from case to case by the expansive

¹ *De Legibus Angliae*, I, Rolls Series, 1878, p. 4.

² *A Relation of the Isle of England*, p. 37.

power of interpretation. The original courts were folk-moots, assemblies of freemen, of which we have some survivals. But the great unifying force lay in the king's courts, which from the time of Henry II began to absorb numberless local and feudal jurisdictions, and ultimately acquired a degree of strength which was not equaled by similar bodies in any other country. There is no lack of knowledge concerning this aspect of legal history, but there is still an almost unwritten chapter on the social side of litigation and the large place held by the law in the life of the people.

As with every other historical problem the line of study must be determined by the records. Of the early folk-courts, descriptions and records of any kind are extremely rare; of feudal and municipal jurisdictions they are never abundant. But of the more orderly king's courts there has come down from the time of Henry III an almost unbroken series of records, which are indeed more extensive than historians have ever been able to read. To a limited extent the official rolls are livened by a parallel, but incomplete, series known as Year Books, containing memoranda of pleadings and arguments, which are believed to have been compiled by students of law. As a rule the records are confined to a succinct statement of the cases in court, and they seldom tell us anything of the litigants, their real interests, motives, or feelings. For mediæval justice, without being on the whole severe, tended like contemporary theology to be extremely formal. The prerogative of mercy belonged to the king, not to the courts, and while there was such a thing as equity in the minds of the judges, its application for a long time was exceptional and its development late. So there appears in mediæval trials a minimum of the dramatic, the heroic, or the chivalric, such as make cases celebrated nowadays; although there is on the other hand a frequent display of cowardice, greed, and treachery. Perhaps we should say that the quarrels of men are always sordid, and are instructive only as means for settling them are developed.

As in modern newspapers, a better insight into a case is afforded whenever the circumstances are unusual. Thus a litigant, when he found the regular course of law impracticable, was permitted to indite a petition, in which he was free to state his grievance in an informal and unrestricted manner. Of course he was apt to run into exaggeration, but his spontaneous expression has a peculiar value. The narratives of the monks also, whose houses were always entangled in lawsuits, are likely to give a lively, though it be a biased, account of how they gained or lost an estate in dispute with their neighbors. A still more intimate view of the course of litigation as followed by certain families is found in a few collections of private correspondence. Of these *The Paston Letters*, dated mainly in the fifteenth century, are by far the most famous. It is possible that the Pastons were an exceptionally litigious family, whose quarrels were carried to unusual extremes, but we have also *The Stonor Letters and Papers*, recently discovered and published, which present the same picture of strifes and lawsuits as the chief topic of interest among the landed gentry.

In an age averse to specialization, just as every man had to be a soldier, so was he to some extent also a lawyer. For the law was still in the making, and titles to real property were rarely so clear as if written down in Domesday Book or granted in a royal charter. A great many cases before the courts were in fact friendly suits undertaken for the sole purpose of establishing a title. Then the manorial system with its interlocking claims of lord and tenants, and its complication of common and individual rights, was intensely provocative of disputes. The chances of dispute also were multiplied by the prevailing custom of landed families holding estates, often in very small parcels, widely scattered over the country. For example, the inheritance of a family no greater than the Stonors, of knightly rank, was distributed in as many as nine different counties, while the great lords had their estates and various rights of patronage literally through-

out the kingdom. Instead of an effort to concentrate their interests in any particular section of the country, it was rather the manifest desire of every great family to extend its claims into every nook and corner; so that it was necessary for a landlord nearly as much as a merchant to be forever on the road, traveling on horseback or by river barge from one country seat to another, most often going up to London on business, while the care of the family was left to wife and servants and the management of the agricultural estate to stewards. It is a mistake to think of the women of the Middle Ages, even of the higher classes, as kept in idleness or irresponsibility. In their family letters the women of the household, as well as the men, gave little space to sentiment and much to practical affairs, including the technical subject of law. Sometimes there is an allusion to systematic study, as when Agnes Paston reminds her son Edwin to think of his father's counsel to learn the law, "for he said many times that whosoever should dwell at Paston should have need to defend himself."³ To Daniel of Morley it seemed that "England was wholly given to the study of law." In all the ordinary courts it was presumed that every suitor would know how to use certain customary formulae, but to this rule it was admitted there might be exceptions.

No poor man or foreigner or one who does not know the law shall be challenged for not saying the due and usual words according to the custom of the realm in making his court and in his defense, but such people shall be suffered to state the substance of the case.⁴

Again as a concession to townsmen :

It is lawful to every burgess to plead without using particular verbal formulas.⁵

Apparently to the end of the fifteenth century parties took their own cases to court, or defended themselves,

³ *The Paston Letters*, no. 46.

⁴ *Borough Customs*, Selden Society, XXI, p. 1.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

with the sole advice, if needed, of the clerks of the chancery. There was, for example, John Shillingford, himself a trader and mayor of Exeter, who was sent to plead the claims of the city before the chancellor and other judges. While he had learned advice, he pleaded his own case successfully, and his letters leave no doubt of his good grasp of the points of law involved. Here and there is a touch of legal thought in Chaucer and other mediæval poets. To quote a simple passage :

To seen the court, quod I, and all the guyse;
And eke to sue for pardon and for grace,
And mercy ask for all my great trespass,
That I non erst com to the Court of Love.⁶

Here is an allusion to the tradition that all men were required to attend court, unless they should present a valid excuse. In the thirteenth century there is no doubt that such attendance was rapidly falling off. In various local tribunals the sessions could hardly proceed because of the multitude of excuses, while in the king's courts any general attendance was treated as theoretical rather than real. Still in the fourteenth century a session of visiting justices was opened with a solemn appeal to the people for support.⁷ The most important requirement made of the law-abiding men of the local community was to serve on juries which were then more necessary and used more extensively than they are now. An original conception of the jury was that it represented the county; indeed, in the usual form of speech (*per patriam*) it *was* the county. There were also certain magistrates, like sheriffs, justices of the peace, and special commissioners, who were never lawyers, but gentlemen of the counties. The anomaly of a justice of the peace knowing little or nothing of law not long ago afforded fun for Dickens. The manor courts, too, so long as they lasted, were manned by lords and tenants

⁶ Anon., *Court of Love*, ed. W. W. Skeat, *Chaucerian and Other Pieces*, in *Chaucer's Complete Works*, VII, 1897, pp. 164-167.

⁷ *Eyre of Kent*, Selden Society, XXIV, 1909, p. 46.

in the primitive way. Altogether there were more ways than there are now for the ordinary citizen to learn the forms of law and to take an intelligent part in the administration of justice.

But the need of special learning led to the formation of a distinct profession of lawyers. Magna Carta mentions "men who know the law," and from that time they were employed extensively, first as judges and counselors of the king, and then by suitors of every rank. It is a matter of no little importance that monks were forbidden the study of law and medicine, and that the clergy generally were preoccupied with the pursuit of civil and canon law; so that the rising class of common lawyers was drafted from the ranks of laymen. They got a training not like that of scholars in the universities, but after the practical fashion of the gilds, in certain societies still known as the Inns at Court, where they worked first as apprentices and finally attained the rank of sergeants (literally "servants") at law. Of those appearing in court there were two classes, attorneys and pleaders. As the name implies, an attorney was a substitute who came in the interest of another, without necessarily being a lawyer. In the days when every man was presumed to speak for himself, it was a difficult conception to grasp that one person should be represented by another, and it was permitted only with reservations. Was a client fully bound by the act of his attorney? Was it fair play for one party to gain over another by superior verbal skill? Was a litigant to suffer by the mistakes of his attorney? There was a constant stream of actions arising from the fraud of attorneys. In one case a suitor addressed a petition to the judges, alleging that by not purchasing a writ in time his attorney was seeking to keep him out of the entire session of the court.⁸ The second class, namely, of pleaders, corresponding to present-day barristers, was the more highly trained, but their reception in court gave rise to less difficulty because they served not as substitutes but as assistants to their

⁸ *Select Bills in Eyre*, no. 43.

clients. So a party might reasonably be asked if he would abide by the words of his pleader. A common complaint against pleaders was that as they spoke in French the people might probably have no knowledge of what was being said for or against them. The statute of 1362, requiring that English be spoken in the courts, sought to keep at least the oral proceedings within the common understanding.

By those who could afford it, a lawyer or even a body of lawyers was permanently retained to watch over their affairs. In a dispute heard about 1300 it is brought to light that a certain pleader had been sent up to London and supported there for three and a half years to train for his patron's service.⁹ The Pastons, we learn, were continually adding this person and that, friends as well as lawyers, to be "of counsel" in their behalf. In a single hearing before the king's bench there were as many as five learned counsel arguing for them.¹⁰ In the Stonor family we have no means of knowing how many agents were thus employed, but mention is made of "all my lady's counsel."¹¹ Among the great lords, who were immersed in legal contests the whole time, it was customary to employ an agent in every shire and to maintain a council of lawyers and other members resembling the king's council in the scope and variety of its functions. A single retaining fee of ten pounds a year, which is once mentioned, was a fair salary in its day. The magnificence of lordly establishments with their bands of retainers, military and legal, was a matter of astonishment to contemporary observers.¹² An archbishop, who was himself a good manager, remarked that the lords could never keep up such big households if they did not know how to live by rapine.

⁹ *Select Bills in Eyre*, no. 79.

¹⁰ *The Paston Letters*, no. 482.

¹¹ *The Stonor Letters*, no. 127.

¹² "The outrageous multitude of maintainors and embracers of quarrels, who are like kings in the country." *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, III, Record Commission, p. 99.

As has already been said, the lawyers never succeeded in taking the law entirely out of the hands of laymen and common people. Had they done so, such was the bent of the professional mind towards precision and authority, they might have romanized it completely, and so would have changed the course of English history. Without controlling the main body of the law, they invented technicalities and devious courses, and gained an unenviable reputation for chicanery. It is indicative of their unpopularity that they were generally excluded as pleaders in the lords' courts; they were at one time forbidden to represent the counties in parliament; and, again, they were not to serve as sheriffs. The poet Langland is very hard on money-grabbing lawyers:

Thou myght bet mete the myst on Malverne hulles,
 Than get a mom [word] of hure mouth til moneye be hem
 showid.¹³

Chaucer is more kindly to his Man of Law, but twits him for the same weakness, making a jest of his unsavory reputation for purchasing claims in litigation.

A Sergeant of the Lawe, war and wys,
 That often had been at the parvys,

* * * * *

Of fees and robes hadde he many oon.
 So greet a purchasour was nowher noon.
 Al was fee simple to him in effect,
 His purchasing might nat been infect.
 Nowher so bisy a man as he ther was,
 And yet he semed bisier than he was.¹⁴

The full fury of the popular feeling against lawyers as the tools of the rich comes out in the Peasants' Revolt. "Then," as Walsingham tells us, "began they to show forth in deeds part of their inmost purpose, and to behead in revenge all and every lawyer in the land, from the half-

¹³ Langland, *Piers Plowman*, Text C, XI, 163, p. 121.

¹⁴ *Canterbury Tales*, Prologue, ll. 309-310, 317-322.

fledged pleader to the aged justice, together with all the jurors of the country whom they could catch. For they said that all such men must first be slain before the land could enjoy true freedom."¹⁵ It is true, the rioters killed at least one chief justice and an uncertain number of lawyers of lesser note, but this was a short step towards an extermination of the profession.

Every man in the Middle Ages expected to be armed, and if possible thrice armed, to enforce his quarrel, whether it were just or unjust. I refer not in this connection to the judicial duel or trial by battle, which was discountenanced by the courts and, though it was permitted to survive, was used to a very limited extent after the thirteenth century. What persisted beyond the power of the courts to prevent, owing to the lack of police protection, was recourse to arms in self-help. Originally all law depended upon private enforcement. But in the time of Bracton and Edward I there was a rigorous reprobation of any assertion of might in the manner frequently called "fist-right," and one good reason for the popularity of the king's courts at that time was the speedy remedies there afforded, especially to weaker persons against the stronger, for recovery of possession. In certain years indeed the bulk of civil litigation consisted of actions brought by free tenants against parties who had violently dispossessed them of their lands. Nevertheless, as was too often the case, the law expressed the ideal rather than the actual standard of society. Forcible entry, as it was called, that is, the violent eviction of an occupant, often accompanied by all the atrocities of war, in spite of its illegality continued to be the customary manner of asserting claims. If a man had a valid claim to property—and usually he alleged a claim however slight—there was scarcely a jury in the land that would for that reason be unfavorable to him. There was nothing wrong in mere violence. As a pleader once argued, "I may enter my own land with all manner of arms, if I please; for I am doing

¹⁵ *Gesta Abbatum*, an. 1381.

no trespass.’¹⁶ As time went on, the law instead of showing greater severity seemed to give way to public opinion. There were conditions under which an owner might recapture stolen goods, or recover possession of land, if he did so at once, say within a space of four or five days. This period was lengthened with the effect that in the fifteenth century, in spite of solemn statutes to the contrary, the utmost tolerance was exhibited towards those who asserted claims by force of arms. The old adage that possession is nine points of the law has no real validity; the law indeed always favored prior possession. But there were certain advantages of actual possession, of which the strong-armed suitor was likely to avail himself: for one thing, the burden of proof lay on the other side, while the means of proof were often taken away. Hence the turbulent state of things portrayed in the *Paston Letters*, wherein the single manor of Gresham was seized and reseized by rival claimants twice over within a space of three years.

By a strange anomaly, which may perhaps be explained as a survival from primitive times, the law permitted a form of self-help known as distraint. In order to constrain an opponent to appear in court, as surety one might seize a chattel, most likely an ox, which the first party might himself recover by writ of replevin. Surely nothing could have been more provocative of strife. As one correspondent remarked, after a fatal affray, “And all this mischief fell because of an old debate that was between them for taking of a distress.”¹⁷ A more amusing situation is disclosed by one of the agents of Paston who writes, “I have been three times to distrain him, but could never do it but in his mother’s house, and there I durst not for her cursing.”¹⁸

The popularity of the king’s courts depended in due measure also upon their accessibility. At first a suitor,

¹⁶ *Select Bills in Eyre*, no. 145.

¹⁷ *The Paston Letters*, no. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 146.

literally a follower, must seek the king wherever he might be found on his travels. Henry II established a bench located at Westminster, which grew into the court of common pleas, "to hear complaints of the people." By the time of Edward I the court of king's bench likewise gravitated to the same spot, which became the legal capital of England. There was also a system of itinerant justices, who were from time to time sent forth into counties, "to administer justice among the people."¹⁹ That they were not always gladly received we learn from certain Yorkshiremen who would rather pay one hundred pounds than suffer a visit from the king's judges, and again from the villagers of Gloucestershire who on such an occasion ran away into the woods. While there was always a large amount of criminal justice administered in the counties, the great bulk of civil litigation was centered in Westminster Hall, wherein most of the courts and the chancery were stationed. A busy place it was in term time, crowded with lawyers and litigants, something like a present stock exchange, in which all sorts of transactions are being carried on simultaneously upon the same floor. In the Great Charter (§ 40) the king had given the promise, "To none will we sell, deny, or delay justice." Certainly this never meant that justice in the thirteenth any more than in the twentieth century was free or even cheap. The king's court indeed was open to no one except by the king's command; this command was issued in the form of a writ, which the suitor must apply for and pay for in the chancery. Among the hundred and more writs of this sort, the cost varied from a half-mark to one mark, a price not higher than the traffic would bear, and yet large enough to create an appreciable revenue. If the writ proved to be in due form and applicable to his case, the suitor might hope for a speedy remedy, but if it contained the slightest inaccuracy or was in any wise inapplicable to the matter in contention, the court would refuse to proceed with it, and the suitor had spent his money thus far for nought.

¹⁹ Benedict of Peterborough, *Gesta Regis*, I, Rolls Series, 1867, p. 239.

Thus the court once told a party who found himself in this predicament, "We are not going to alter the common law to meet your recovery."²⁰ Added to the cost of writs, sometimes of one writ after another, were the expenses of travel, and occasionally of bringing up jurors from the country, besides lawyers' fees, fees of court, and perhaps the furnishing of bonds, until justice seemed to exist for the rich alone. In every well-regulated household the *expensae forinsicae* formed a material part of the family accounts. At the same time the poor were not entirely unprovided for. It was an unwritten rule that as a matter of alms the king should give ear to the cry of poverty. A poor suitor might have a writ free. More often instead of a writ he would indite a petition declaring himself "your poor orator," "your simple and poor wax-chandler," or as "reduced to poverty and misery," etc., and implore the king's favor "for God, pity and in the way of charity." It was made a rule in the king's council that the petition of the poorest suitor should be read first and that he should have legal advice free.²¹ Such was the advantage of this procedure that the richest religious houses and towns did not blush to urge poverty as a reason for their petitions. True, a petition in contrast to a writ cost nothing, but on the other hand no court was bound to hear a petition, and so it was a common thing for suitors to lose time and money in this way, because they could not get a hearing. A man might sue "from parliament to parliament" and get no answer, and a session of parliament would be ended before a half of the petitions brought there were treated. It was this press of petitions, in fact, and the need for a special court to deal with them, that finally created the chancellor's jurisdiction, the popularity of which was in large measure due to its cheapness and accessibility.

Another concern to the anxious suitor was the probable attitude of the judges, and the degree to which bribes or

²⁰ *Eyre of Kent*, Selden Society, XXIX, 1913, p. 76.

²¹ Baldwin, *The King's Council*, p. 276.

other means of influence might be required. It is true that the ideal of impartiality set before the judges was then as high as it has ever since been. According to their oath of office, as paraphrased by Hoccleve,

Naught ought a iuge, for hatred or loue
Other wey deme yen trouth requirith.²²

He should take no gift unless it be food and drink. But judges like other men must live; their salaries were small, forty pounds a year at the most, and even that was often in arrear; so that, while bribes were severely condemned, a difficult distinction was made in favor of fees. Both parties to a suit in fact felt obliged to offer the judge a fee, with the possibility of the scales of justice inclining towards the side paying the larger sum. As gifts of money were forbidden, while food and drink were permitted, a way to beat the law was found by making valuable presents of game, fish, and wine. It is to the credit of Edward I that he once appointed a commission to hear the complaints of the people against the corruption of his judges, and caused a number of them to be tried and dismissed from office. Again, the hand of Edward III fell heavily upon several of his judges, one of whom was convicted of bribery on his own confession, and another accused of having "perverted and sold the laws as if they had been oxen or cows."²³ But in the latter case the charges were never substantiated, and as he was afterwards reinstated, we are free to believe that some of the complaints were hasty and exaggerated. Langland and Gower, who show a pessimistic strain in whatever they attack, would have us believe that Lady Meed (bribery) was everything. Thus Gower writes, "Men say, and I believe it, that justice nowadays is in the balance of gold; for if I give more than thou thy right is not worth a straw. Right without gifts is of no avail with judges."²⁴ On the other hand, there was un-

²² *On Justice*, p. 97.

²³ *Year Books*, 14-15 Edw. III, Rolls Series, p. 258.

²⁴ *Complete Works*, ed. G. C. Macaulay, I, Oxford, 1899, p. 272.

deniably much ability and professional pride among the judges. Sir John Fortescue, a chief justice under Henry VI, declared in praise of them that no judge was ever guilty of corruption. This was far from true, nevertheless, even in his own day, while Fortescue himself committed the impropriety of listening to John Shillingford, who walked homeward with him in order to press the claims of his city.²⁵ But after all has been said and proved against the integrity of the judges, there remains nothing worse than what was undeniably true of all other public officers and churchmen. The chief danger at that time to the independence of the judiciary came from the king himself, who was accustomed to direct and advise them, and at any moment in the course of a trial might send them a letter to hasten judgment or to stay proceedings. Such letters were frequently purchased by the litigants themselves. Since the chancellor had not as yet acquired full judicial character, apparently less scruple was felt in approaching him with presents. In a suit that was being heard before the council touching the Abbey of Meaux, the abbot succeeded with rich gifts in gaining the support of the chancellor, while all other members of the court who had not been bribed were hostile.²⁶ The same John Shillingford describes how, on the advice of counsel, he waited for the arrival of four hundred fish called buckhorn, which the chancellor was expected to serve at a great dinner. Tactfully he added a candle on Candlemas Day. The great man, who was himself a bishop, then received him "with laughing cheer," and listened to his argument in favor of the pending claims of the city of Exeter. "I find him a good man," he wrote, "and well willed in our right."²⁷ All these things are told of not with a shrug of the shoulders as if in any way reprehensible, but frankly, as in the ordinary routine of business.

If the judges were pliable, juries were far more easily

²⁵ Shillingford, *Letters and Papers*, p. 68.

²⁶ *Chron. de Melsa*, III, pp. 135, 141.

²⁷ Shillingford, *Letters and Papers*, p. 37.

bribed, and probably intimidated more often than they were bribed. From the very beginning the system of juries showed the same weaknesses that still pertain to it, such as reluctance of individuals to serve, default, covin or collusion with outside parties, and perjury. The same as now, a man would pay money to get off the panel. The courts were constantly discharging incompetent juries, sometimes trying one set of jurymen before another, now and then fining a whole community for its failure to provide a good jury. As representative men of the community, there were several different ways of selecting them. They might be elected in the county court, or drawn by lot, or chosen by the litigants themselves; but the mode generally adopted was by panel of the sheriff. As the word implies, jurors were sworn to tell the truth. There was no insistence upon their ignorance of the facts in question; on the contrary, they were expected to know the facts, or else to find them out. There is good ground for the observation of the Venetian ambassador, who looked upon the custom with the eyes of a Romanist, that the jury was an organ of opinion rather than a means of proof. Of the way the jurors came to a common verdict, he says, "They are shut up in a room, without food or fire, or means of sitting down, and there they remain till . . . those who cannot bear the discomfort yield to the more determined for the sake of getting out sooner."²⁸ Therefore, how to fix the jury, if it were possible, was likely to be the first thought of a litigant. "Labour to the sheriff for the return of such panels as will speak for me," writes John Paston, and "entreat the sheriff as well as ye can by reasonable reward, rather than fail";²⁹ at the same time he salves his conscience in this proceeding with the thought that his enemies have taken up a false issue. Evidently there was no seclusion of the jurors or difficulty in meeting them, for Paston's agent writes, "I have labored divers men that have been impanelled. Many

²⁸ *A Relation of the Isle of England*, p. 32.

²⁹ *The Paston Letters*, no. 154.

of them will do their part, and some will not pass there-upon for they are afraid that the world will turn.”³⁰ Again the man who had tried to fix the jury prays the judge to chastise perjury “that reigneth so much nowadays.”³¹ At another time the Earl of Oxford urges Paston to do a little private pleading before the jury, and righteously adds, “Desire them to do as conscience wills and eschew perjury.”³² It is easy to understand how after a century or two of experience with grand and petty juries, there was a manifest reaction against the system. For neither the chancery nor any of the other nascent courts of equity would have anything to do with juries. Yet with all its faults the jury was just about what it was intended to be, a means of expressing the mind of the community. Also in all estimates of its merits, whether then or now, we should remember that every panel exists for a single case and is a law to itself. Different from the judiciary, it maintains no tradition, and its good or evil has little cumulative effect.

While we are not now dealing with the criminal branch of law, it is true that disputes over property were easily complicated by criminal acts. So that in the course of litigation the parties were constantly making charges and countercharges, whether in good faith or not, for the purpose of harassing one another. It was a reproach to the king's courts that false and malicious charges were so easily made and readily listened to. Under Edward III there was an effort to abate the nuisance by requiring accusers to furnish bonds to prove the truth of their assertions, but this does not seem to have mitigated the evil. For example, it is told how a man once sued another for debt, and when he found that he could not prevail in this course, he charged the other with trespass for having fished in his waters.³³ The easiest way for anyone thus to

³⁰ *The Paston Letters*, no. 147.

³¹ *Ibid.*, no. 308.

³² *Ibid.*, no. 373.

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 28.

entrap an enemy was with the aid of a friendly sheriff to procure an indictment from a subservient jury. Then, if the defendant could not furnish bail, he might be held in prison until the time of his trial, whenever that might be. It is true, Magna Carta makes provision for judgment of peers and by the law of the land, but it failed to touch the evils of false indictment and long detention. "It is the easiest thing in the world to get a person thrown into prison in this country," remarks the Venetian ambassador whose observations have been previously quoted.³⁴ This particular abuse of power on the part of the sheriffs had long been a matter of complaint, when a thorough exposure of the practice was made in a noted case, *Ughtred v. Musgrave*, which was heard before the king's council in 1366.³⁵ It appears that there had been a good deal of night-riding and robbery in the county of Yorkshire, and it was undoubtedly the duty of the sheriff to arrest suspected persons, and if there were evidence to have them indicted. The complainants, Sir Thomas Ughtred and others, were men of substance among the local families, and alleged that the sheriff had arrested them out of enmity, and that although he had held as many as fourteen inquests, equivalent to sessions of the grand jury, he had found nothing against them. Still they were kept in prison without trial and without bail. After examining the sheriff, who was completely put to confusion in his defense, the council gave an opinion severely adverse to the defendant, on the ground that he had secured no proper indictments to justify his arrests and detentions. Musgrave was then removed from office and disgraced. There is a touch of comedy in the affair when it appears from other evidence that Ughtred and his fellows had probably taken part in the depredations already mentioned. Still to the end of the Middle Ages the sheriffs retained their quasi-judicial function of impaneling juries and obtaining indictments. Working like the pro-

³⁴ *Relation of the Isle of England*, p. 33.

³⁵ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. 54-60.

verbial new broom, an energetic sheriff once began his term of office by returning a hundred such indictments.³⁶ As he was usually a gentleman of the county, appointed for one year only, it was a matter of intense local interest who should be the next sheriff. "God send us a good sheriff this year, and then we shall do well enough," exclaims one counselor-at-law.³⁷ In his well-known contest with Lord Moleyns, John Paston is warned, "The sheriff is not so whole as he was, for now he will show but a part of his friendship."³⁸ Again he is advised, "It would do good if ye would get a commandment of the king to the sheriff to show you favor," a letter which it was rumored could be had for a noble.³⁹ His wife adds, "I pray you trust not the sheriff for no fair language."⁴⁰ During the weak reign of Henry VI these malpractices increased. According to a complaint made in parliament, "Indictments be often times affirmed by jurors having no conscience, nor any freehold, and little goods, and often by menial servants of the said sheriffs."⁴¹ Among the first reforms undertaken by Edward IV was a statute transferring the power of the sheriffs, which was so susceptible of abuse, to the justices of the peace.

There were still other ways by which a litigant might be attacked in flank by forced or trumped-up actions. It was a well-settled principle in law that no one should be taken by surprise; so a writ should state cause, and a defendant should be given due notice of claims or charges against him. And yet everyone had reason to fear that the sheriff or bailiff would not notify him; so that he might unwittingly suffer a default, his property might be attached during his absence, or he might be assailed in two different parts of the country at once. And so it was made the special care of friends, allies, and legal agents

³⁶ *The Paston Letters*, no. 485.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 420.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 155.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 159.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 167.

⁴¹ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, p. lxxxvii.

to keep a lookout and give warning of any such processes begun in the courts. With this intention the Countess of Devonshire writes to Edmund Stonor, "Know that we have heard that a writ of the king has been purchased against you touching the manor of Ermington, but we know not why or in whose name; wherefore be you advised and warned and acquit us of the promise made to warn you."⁴² While the same John Paston was being sued in the court of the hundred, he could get no copy of the complaints, as he said, because the officer of the court was in covin with his enemy.⁴³ Again, "I send you a copy of the bill now put against you," writes an agent of the Stonors.⁴⁴ There was no end of trouble and expense undertaken by clients in order to obtain advanced, and if possible inside, information of this sort.⁴⁵

In a society where the individual counted for little, many of the activities we have already described, to use a phrase of common currency, depended upon "aid and counsel." This meant not only counselors-at-law, but also friends, allies, and confederates indefinitely. For the period in view was a time when the feudal system, particularly the bond of lord and vassal, was breaking down and giving way to legally free conditions. The king's courts indeed by invading the province of the lords' courts did much to weaken the feudal régime in a vital spot. The change was inevitable but in some ways premature, for there was still the need of the essential feudal principle of mutual protection and support. This the people were now finding in other ways. From the thirteenth century we can trace the beginning and extension of a system variously known as alliances, leagues, fellowships, confederacies, for both defensive and offensive purposes. Such associations are not to be confused with feudalism, for tenants were entering them in spite of their hereditary landlords. As they were

⁴² *The Stonor Letters*, no. 38.

⁴³ *The Paston Letters*, no. 78.

⁴⁴ *The Stonor Letters*, no. 287.

⁴⁵ *Plumpton Correspondence*, pp. 90-92.

generally secret and transitory, we know little about them except in general effect. "Keep your friends secret lest ye lose them," seems to have been good advice. Among the county families, both small and great, there was a network of such alliances, confirmed by oaths, with interchange of signs and tokens, and often cemented by the intermarriage of sons and daughters. There are allusions to the same kind of thing in the cities. As one suitor gave forth, "I tell you that the rich folk all back each other up to keep the poor folk in this town from getting their rights."⁴⁶ That the king might not suffer from dual allegiances, the members of his council were required to take the oath to make no other *sworn* alliance.⁴⁷ The system was greatly encouraged by the Hundred Years' War, wherein the lords raised armed companies which they supported with fees, robes, and liveries. Often in riotous bands they committed all sorts of depredation throughout the country, invading the courts, stampeding elections, and intimidating judges and juries.

All these practices led to what was acknowledged to be the greatest evil of the time, namely, maintenance, with slight variants known as brocage, barratry, and embrocery. As the word suggests, this was the support given to litigation, usually by great men to their allies, whereby quarrels were instigated and kept up by force and fraud. It implied the control of magistrates, sheriffs, and juries and of course the employment of lawyers. Incidentally as a kind of speculation claims in dispute were brought up by agents called brocagers, the first representatives of a craft that has extended its operations to every kind of business. There is no object of scorn more frequently pointed at in the satirical poems of the day. As one of the popular jingles runs,

Now maynterys be made justys
And lewd men rewle the lawe of kynde.

* * * * *

⁴⁶ *Select Bills in Eyre*, no. 11.

⁴⁷ Baldwin, *The King's Council*, p. 348.

Now brocage ys made offycerys
And baratur ys made bayly.⁴⁸

Both the persistence of the practice and the extent of its ramifications are shown by the statutes repeatedly enacted against it. The very first act of the kind, passed under Edward I, points to the danger of corruption in high places, when it declares that "no officer of the king shall maintain pleas, or have part or profit thereof." It was a charge frequently made in court that the enemy was a maintainer, but a charge always difficult to prove, and only in a few instances can the lines of fraudulent operation be distinctly traced. But there was certainly one occasion when the facts were sifted to the bottom and justice vindicated. This was in the celebrated case of *Esturmy v. Courtney*, which came before the king's council in 1392.⁴⁹ William Esturmy was a mere knight who sat at one time with the justices of the peace in Devonshire, but he happened also to be a retainer of the king's household, and for that reason was able to make headway against Edward Courtney, the powerful Earl of Devonshire. It appears that a quarrel had previously arisen between a retainer of the Earl of Devon and a neighboring tenant of the Earl of Huntingdon, in which the said tenant was caught in an ambushade and murdered. Now Huntingdon was the favorite half-brother of King Richard II, and though his name is not mentioned in the case he may have influenced it from behind the scene of action. The charge made by Esturmy was that after indictments of the alleged murderers had been obtained before justices of the peace, the Earl of Devon called him a false justice and a traitor, and swore on the cross of his chapel to make him answer for it with his body. Furthermore, the Earl was accused of having threatened other justices and jurymen, calling them perjurers. Now the council never entrusted the facts to a jury. It followed instead the method of

⁴⁸ *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. II, Rolls Series, pp. 235-236.

⁴⁹ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. 77-81.

inquisitorial examination, analogous to what is known today in police circles as "the third degree," questioning the parties individually until the truth was disclosed. In this instance it examined each of the justices concerned and found substantially the same story. It finally interrogated the Earl himself, who virtually admitted everything, though he claimed to have intended to reproach the justices rather than to threaten them. This was his meaning when he said to Esturmy "he would like to break his head." The king and council went so far as to condemn the Earl, adjudging that he should be sent to prison and there remain until he should have paid fine and ransom. At the same time the lords of the council prayed the king in view of his rank and royal blood to show favor and grant him pardon. This the king did without delay, taking advantage of the situation to exact a promise, with hand in hand, of the Earl of Devon and all other lords present to the effect that they would be loyal and conduct themselves lawfully in future.⁵⁰ It may seem that this was an extremely lenient treatment of the affair. But as a matter of fact it was more severe than is shown in any other case of its kind till after the Wars of the Roses. How extremely tolerant the lords all were of the practices involved is revealed by another fact that appears in the minutes of the council. During the same week when the Earl of Devon was under these serious charges, he is noted as present in the council, deliberating with other lords upon public business. Can any such situation be paralleled in the Senate of the United States?⁵¹

Another case describing other phases of the same general practice is that of *Atwood v. Clifford*.⁵² The defendant, James Clifford, Esquire, of Gloucestershire, was a turbulent character, who was accustomed to league with

⁵⁰ Baldwin, *The King's Council*, p. 495.

⁵¹ One of the present senators from Michigan was under criminal indictment at the time that he was permitted to vote upon the acceptance or rejection of the Treaty of Versailles.

⁵² *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. 86-92.

other men of the county with a view to preying upon their weaker neighbors. Their method was to seize an estate at an opportune moment, and then by force and fraud to thwart any legal processes begun against them. Yet while charges of this kind were laid against him, Clifford was an honored man in the county, serving on various commissions and keeping the castle of Caldecote. There appeared as many as a half-dozen petitions in complaint of his misdeeds, but so far as we know only one of them ever gained a fair hearing. This was the petition of John Atwood, small tenant of the late Earl of Warwick, whose estate was for the moment taken into the king's hands, and this is perhaps a reason why the matter was heard in parliament and then adjourned to the king's council. The charges were that Clifford had been the maintainer of persecutions going on for the past seven years, and that under a false indictment the plaintiff had been held in prison for over three years, while his enemies seized his lands and goods. All processes before several juries in turn had failed utterly because of their collusion with the defendants. Once brought before the council and examined, Clifford failed completely, and the award of the court was that full restoration and restitution should be made to the plaintiff. Seldom has justice been so fully vindicated in principle, but frustrated in effect. For Clifford and his allies finally had their way by causing Atwood to be murdered by the hand of a hired assassin. After being convicted of this crime in the king's bench, the leader of the band was pardoned on payment of two hundred marks. At this price Clifford and his men could afford to continue their depredations.

A still more serious menace to the cause of law and order appears when bands of rival maintainors come into collision. In the year 1439 there occurred a riot of this nature at the town of Bedford, which the king's council took seriously enough to examine into.⁵³ It appears that among the gentlemen of Bedfordshire there were two

⁵³ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. 104-107.

factions, the one led by Lord Grey of an old distinguished family, the other by a new man who had recently won the title of Lord Fanhope by services in war. Both personal rivalry and quarrels between their respective tenants led to more than one clash of arms. There was some contention too over the appointment of justices of the peace in Bedfordshire. During the previous years Fanhope somehow gained an advantage by excluding his rivals from these appointments. Grey's men retaliated by securing from the king a special commission to several of their own number to act as justices apart from the justices of the peace. Then came the inevitable collision between two boards of justices. No sooner had the special commissioners come to the town hall, than in walked Lord Fanhope with forty to sixty armed men and started holding sessions of the peace. After a vain attempt had been made to bring the two parties together threats and insults began to be bandied to and fro, and words of defiance were exchanged until the room was filled with clamor. Fanhope himself leaped upon the board used as a table and drew his dagger. There were hundreds of armed men in the neighborhood. And yet in all this tumult, or riot as it was called, marvelous to relate, no one was injured, not even a blow was struck by either side against the other. When the commissioners identified as Lord Grey's partisans were afterwards questioned before the council, there was found to be some discrepancy in their statements, and they were forced to admit that they had hardly shown towards Lord Fanhope the courtesy due to his rank, and had themselves been actuated by feelings of malice. Much was made of the fact that his lordship had held his dagger, not forward in a threatening manner, but downward as if he meant to quell the riot. The upshot of the affair was that Fanhope and his followers were completely exonerated and given letters patent to this effect.⁵⁴ Thereupon the other party, not satisfied to let the matter rest, in the next month succeeded in getting from the weak-minded king letters

⁵⁴ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Hen. VI, p. 286.

patent, engrossed in almost the same language as the former, freeing them from all blame.⁵⁵ This was the way with the great maintainors. When the crimes mounted to dangerous heights, they secured for themselves immunity under the king's pardon. Thus in the midst of feuds and incipient civil war the government of Henry VI, instead of doing justice to one side or the other, sought to stabilize itself by a policy of conciliation and concession. To such timidity and leniency there was no end but rebellion and revolution.

As the fifteenth century progresses, we see more clearly how these alliances were contracted and maintained. Sometimes the humblest men sought the patronage of the neighboring gentry, who in turn acquired the "good lordship" of men higher up, until they reached the very doors of the king's council. Their solicitations were accompanied by timely presents such as a horse for his lordship, a kerchief for my lady, or a book for a lover of learning like the Duke of Gloucester. Hoccleve, who was himself a clerk of the privy seal, lays the blame squarely upon the shoulders of the great lords:

And al such mayntenance as men wel knowe,
Sustened is noght by persones lowe,
But Cobbes [lords] grete this ryot sustene.⁵⁶

Without such patronage it was said to be impossible for any ordinary man to make headway in the courts. Judge Paston counsels a friend not to plead against a dependent of the Duke of Norfolk, the virtual ruler of the county: "For if thou do, thou shalt have the worse, be thy case never so true . . . and also thou canst get no man of law to be with thee against him."⁵⁷ In the case of John Paston, son of the judge, in his contest with Lord Moleyns, he seemed to have made his position secure by friendly connections with the Duke of Suffolk, then the favorite councilor of Henry VI. But when the power of Suffolk was broken in 1450, the tables were turned in favor of

⁵⁵ *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 17 Hen. VI, p. 282.

⁵⁶ *On Justice*, p. 101. ⁵⁷ *The Paston Letters*, no. 28.

Moleyns, who seized Paston's manor of Gresham and incited the tenants to make all sorts of "feigned complaints" against the Pastons. He further assured them all "that he would mightily with his body and with his goods stand by all those who had been with him in the matter touching Gresham."⁵⁸ In his struggle for restitution, it was suggested to Paston that he might find a "good lord" in Lord Scales, who was said to enjoy the favor of other lords of the king's council and to cause men to fear him.⁵⁹ But in this latter alliance Paston was unfortunate, for one day as he was standing in front of the cathedral at Norwich he was suddenly set upon and beaten by a band of ruffians. This to the victim seemed "a strange case," not because of an attack, but because they were all men of the same Lord Scales, whom he had himself met in London only the week before.⁶⁰ Sometimes on the other hand it was the great lords who solicited the support of lesser men. Thus in 1454 the Earl of Warwick, later the famous king-maker, having purchased certain manors in Norfolk, apparently with political aims in view, writes to John Paston, "I desire and heartily pray you that ye will show me and my proffers your good will and favor, so that I may the more peaceably enjoy the said purchase. . . . Be my faithful friend, wherein ye shall do me a singular pleasure, and cause me to be to you right good lord."⁶¹ There was no sentiment lost in clinging to a patron who could not defend his supporters. In a quarrel of the same period between the Fortescues and the Stonors, a servant of the latter family finding himself in sore straits thus gives notice, "But (unless) ye come and defend me, I will do thee service no longer, for I may not and dare not."⁶² Thus the alliances once made were broken down and reconstructed according to the chances of the moment. The kind of support wanted in an emergency is naïvely expressed in the following letter of a friend to William

⁵⁸ *The Paston Letters*, no. 66.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 172.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 175.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 213.

⁶² *The Stonor Letters*, no. 64.

Stonor: "Colyngryge and I be at open war. I purpose to enter into the manor of Mackney with God's grace on Monday or Wednesday; and if I have need, I pray you send me a good lad or two that I be not beaten out again."⁶³ It was just such incidents as these that led directly to the Wars of the Roses. Countless quarrels and neighborhood wars throughout the country fostered dissensions among the lords, who finally clinched in a struggle for the throne. The armed forces were never large, even for that day, but were readily made up out of the bands that had been thus maintained and trained in the petty warfare of a century past.

There were of course modes of settling quarrels more or less amicably, as we should say, out of court. Sometimes a duel was arranged, in which the champions fought from morn till eve, or until one side or the other was vanquished. On one occasion a long-standing dispute between two religious houses was committed to hired pugilists who fought to a finish before a crowd of delighted spectators.⁶⁴ But this method was by no means as frequent as one might expect in the age of chivalry. There was always much talk of such fighting, but it seldom came to anything. Much more frequently the course of litigation would be ended by some sort of compromise called an accord, although efforts to bring about such a result were not always successful. In the aforesaid contention between Paston and Lord Moleyns, counsel of both sides treated with one another for sixteen days, but his lordship so long as he held the upper hand would never agree to anything.⁶⁵ Among the great families treaties were made as if with sovereign powers. There is extant an unusual form of agreement that was once made between the two rival branches of the Neville family.⁶⁶ Ever since the death of the father, the Earl of Westmoreland, in 1425,

⁶³ *The Stonor Letters*, no. 190.

⁶⁴ *Chron. de Melsa*, II, p. 100.

⁶⁵ *The Paston Letters*, no. 108.

⁶⁶ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, pp. 101-102.

there had been a bitter feud over the will which left the children of a second wife better provided for than those of the first. When the king required the services of the younger men in war, their mother, the Countess of Westmoreland, would consent to their departure only after an agreement had been drawn up, and the other branch of the family had given a bond, to the effect that there should be a suspension, as it were a moratorium, of all suits, entries, and other legal proceedings for the space of three years. But the expedient most often resorted to was that of arbitration. Each side would choose the same number of counselors, most likely including men of law, to hear the matter in dispute and to make an award, which the parties agreed to accept. The system had the advantage of being free from the trammels of strict legal procedure. As it was once explained, "Many things are done out of court that are not to be suffered in court."⁶⁷ Even so, arbitration was usually a failure, because the disappointed party was apt to find fault with the award, and there was no law as yet compelling him to abide by it. Yet between parties not stubbornly antagonistic, arbitration was no doubt a salutary recourse. The existence of so many chances of effecting a settlement helps to explain why many cases in the records, probably a large majority of them, appear never to have been concluded. Particularly in the court of chancery as it developed in the fifteenth century, it has always been a puzzle why we should find petitions of suitors surviving in thousands, while proceedings of the court and its decrees are extremely rare.⁶⁸ It is a plausible theory that most cases were treated without formality and never reached a final decree. In the spirit of equity the chancellor would admonish the parties, give them advice, or bring them to an accord. In one instance we know that he required a man to do penance and make public confession of the wrong he had done.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ *Borough Customs*, Selden Society, XXI, p. 23.

⁶⁸ See *Select Cases in Chancery*, Selden Society, X, 1896.

⁶⁹ *Select Cases before the King's Council*, p. 73.

For reasons that stand out on every page historians commonly speak of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as an age of bloodshed and anarchy. Bloodshed there was, although of that there may be an inclination to exaggerate the amount. Violence there certainly was to an extent that makes it difficult to draw the line between peace and civil war. Fraud and chicanery were also rife. But after all has been said, the conditions were by no means anarchic. The worst stages of the Wars of the Roses show no suspension of the courts or anything like disregard for them. With many exceptions, it is true, there was less of defiance of the courts than respect for their power and careful manipulation of the means of justice. The cautious trimming of sail shown in the counsel given to Sir William Stonor in regard to a forcible entry we think is typical. "And if he [*i.e.*, the enemy] enter by authority of the sheriff by a writ, ye must suffer the sheriff's officers to enter by virtue of the writ or warrant, and as soon as they be gone enter ye again and take the profits."⁷⁰ Without doubt the prevailing notion was that all was fair in litigation, although now and then there is an expression of repulsion at the means that had to be taken. Thus counsel of John Paston impresses upon him, "A man must sometimes set a candle before the devil . . . yet of two harms the less is to be taken."⁷¹ Upon the question of the relative purity or corruption of justice, an eminent authority says that we cannot come to any definite conclusion.⁷² It seems, however, to the present writer, that a step towards a just estimate may be taken by recalling the fact that justice and politics were then closely akin; or better, they were really the same thing. Many of the ways and means that still pertain to politics, such as bribery, false witness, intimidation, and violence, were then tolerated as mere tricks of trade in the course of justice. They seem to us the more shocking, merely because judicature has been

⁷⁰ *The Stonor Letters*, no. 313.

⁷¹ *The Paston Letters*, no. 428.

⁷² Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, II, 476.

more thoroughly purged of the grosser forms of corruption than has the rest of the body politic. Finally, we should remember that public evils are either destructive or self-curative. The corruptions of the fifteenth century proved to be curable. For every existing wrong there was a remedy, however difficult it may have been at the moment to apply it. For the manifest deficiencies of the common law the unique power of the courts of equity was being evolved. For the oppressions caused by livery and maintenance there was the summary procedure of the king's council, soon to be specially organized for the purpose in the famous court of star chamber. And strange as it now seems as a means of progress, instead of a monarchy ridden by an overbearing aristocracy there was coming into being a despotism.

QUEEN OF MEDIÆVAL VIRTUES:
LARGESSE

“Biaus fiz,” fet il, “de ce me croi,
Que largesce est dame et reïne
Qui totes vertuz anlumine.”

Chrétien de Troyes,
Cligès, vv. 192-194.



BY MARIAN P. WHITNEY

QUEEN OF MEDIÆVAL VIRTUES: LARGESSE

TO the student of human nature nothing is more fascinating than to trace those constant changes in moral and social ideals which, though so gradual as to pass quite unnoticed by the average man, yet so profoundly modify accepted standards and values as to render the motives and feelings of men and women of an earlier age quite incomprehensible to those who live a couple of centuries later. There is nothing more difficult than to understand the admiration with which a virtue now out of fashion was regarded in the days of its glory. If it is difficult for the modern American to sympathize with that conception of personal honor which was held by every gentleman two centuries ago and which still prevails in the aristocratic and military circles of the Old World, how much more will he have to abandon his usual standards if he is to understand and admire the qualities which, to the mediæval mind, distinguished the cavalier, the "courteous" or "courtly" gentleman from the "vilain" or common man. Yet this he must do if he is to enter into the spirit of that time; for never did an ideal of character assume more definite shape, take a stronger hold on the imagination of an age, or live longer in literature than did that of the courtly knight. From the eleventh to the fifteenth century, from the days of William of Poitiers to those of Cervantes, it ruled supreme over all Europe. The Renaissance was powerless to dislodge it from the popular mind, and even in the present century its influence can be traced in the romantic literature of every civilized nation.

The chivalric ideal first took form in the south of

France. There an early era of prosperity and comparative peace and the absence of any strong central power had favored the rise of numberless little feudal courts, each with its train of knights, squires, clerks and minstrels, who followed their lord into battle and tourney or celebrated his virtues and prowess, and who all lived upon his bounty. There were no foreign wars to stimulate patriotism and the sterner virtues, and the barons, when not quarreling among themselves, could turn their thoughts to amusement of all sorts, to love, poetry and games of arms. The ideal of the age of conquest and migration, which had found expression in the heroes of the old *chansons de geste* with their "grans colps" for "dolce France" and for the Christian faith, now disappeared before that of the new times, embodied in the courtly lords and knights who lived magnificently, entertained splendidly and loved to have their leisure charmed by song and story. In this more peaceful society woman took a place never before assigned to her. She became a center of interest and admiration and the noblest princes and knights were not ashamed to proclaim themselves her subjects, to contend for her favor and to sing her praises. In this atmosphere was developed the troubadour or Provençal poetry, the first really literary expression of the new society and the new languages which had arisen on the ruins of the Roman world, and the ideal of character formed under its influence made its way into the northern lands and, taking definite shape in the *romans d'aventure* and *romans bretons*, soon penetrated and dominated the literature of all Europe.

What are the principal traits which characterize the cavalier or courtly knight? Jeanroy enumerates, as "les vertus courtois par excellence, la bravoure, la générosité, la 'mesure' en actions et en paroles, le respect de toutes les femmes."¹ Groeber says, "Nicht christliche und bürgerliche Tugenden sind nun mehr die höchsten Güter dieser Welt. Freigebigkeit, äusserer Glanz, artiges Benehmen,

¹ *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, I, p. 373.

Wohlredenheit, Kenntniss und Urteil, Edelsinn und Gemüt müssen vielmehr neben körperlichen Vorzügen diejenigen schmücken, die *honor et pris* in diesen Kreisen gewinnen wollen."²

It will be noted that in both these enumerations of the courtly virtues generosity occupies a very prominent place; it is the accepted translation of the mediæval "largesse," a word which is never lacking in the characterization of any important personage, whether in the lyric poems and romances or the more serious chronicles of the age. But did the poet or historian of the Middle Ages when he used this word have in mind at all the same conception which we associate with the word generosity?

Paul Meyer, in his study of the legends of Alexander the Great, one of the chief mediæval models of largesse, speaks of him as "le type idéal du seigneur féodal, ne cherchant point à amasser pour lui, mais distribuant généreusement à ses hommes les terres et les richesses gagnées avec leur aide."³ Such generous acknowledgment of practical services rendered is undoubtedly the original form of the virtue which, in its later development, is called largesse. It is rooted in the early Teutonic institution of the "Comitatus," by which a freeman might enroll himself voluntarily in the household or suite of a stronger and richer lord, receiving from him protection, support and equipment for war and for the chase, and promising in exchange to fight for his chosen leader against all his enemies. In the lawless and troublous days when the states of Europe were beginning to take form, every great lord was dependent for the conquest and maintenance of his lands and heritage upon the knights who gathered about his standard, and he paid them in kind, sharing with them what they had helped him to win. This relationship forms the usual background of the older *chansons de geste*; it is a natural part of the economy of an age of migration and conquest.

² Groeber, *Grundriss*, II, Abth. I, p. 486.

³ Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, II, p. 373.

The full development of the courtly virtues belongs, however, to a later economic period. The time when there was land and treasure to be conquered is past, and society has assumed a comparatively settled form. The knights follow their lord into tourney or battle, where there is now but small chance for conquest or even for much booty. They help him maintain his rank and position, and they form his court. They depend for a livelihood on what he gives them of his possessions. The horse and arms originally given as payment for definite services rendered, and which returned to the lord at the death of the "Comes," are now considered as gifts from the lord to his knights, who are no longer his comrades and equals, but his dependents, and who expect more and greater gifts as his power and wealth increase, and as the memory of their ancient independence fades. It is under these conditions that the later conception of largesse or generosity took form, as the chief virtue, the one indispensable quality, of the courteous lord. It is now considered as his first duty to indulge in a lavish expenditure, in the benefits of which all those associated with him may share, and to distribute among them all the good things of this world: lands, horses, arms, clothing, vessels of gold and of silver and even money. The motives for such lavish generosity were of course not always entirely pure; they might and probably did contain a large element of ostentation and display. A man gave to prove himself richer and more powerful than his neighbors or rivals, to dazzle and intimidate lesser lords, to gain for himself glory and renown. At every festival the great lords vie with each other in extravagance and display, which generally take the form of lavish giving to all those present, to rich and poor, to superior and inferior. But the truly courteous lord does not give primarily or even mainly in order to gain friends and followers, or to impress others with his power and splendor, still less as a means of rewarding merit or of relieving distress; but as a duty he owes to his rank and to himself. For him it is a matter of "noblesse

oblige''; who profits by his bounty is of comparatively little importance. It is such giving which, to the mediæval mind, constitutes the virtue of largesse.

It was inevitable that this idea of largesse should find expression in the literature of the times and it is easy to understand the preëminent place assigned to it when it is remembered that the poets, minstrels and chroniclers of the day were absolutely dependent upon the liberality of the lords or patrons to whose household they attached themselves. As all the poems and novels and even the rhymed chronicles of the day (and in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries all chronicles not written in Latin were rhymed) were intended to be sung or read aloud, the author or the minstrel was always at hand to profit by any impulse of generosity stirred in the hearts of his hearers by the eulogy of this virtue, or by anecdotes of its exercise in others. So while there is perhaps no other one of the chivalric virtues so foreign to our modern ideas and to the whole morale of our decidedly businesslike age as is this one, yet it is the one virtue which no mediæval gentleman could be without, and upon which the poets and historians of the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth and even of the fifteenth centuries are never weary of dwelling. Kings, barons and knights are praised for it; the heroes of the *romans d'aventure* as well as those of the later *chansons de geste* are all endowed with it; grave historians dwell with delight on instances of its exercise in the men whose lives they are recounting and are not at all loath to borrow such stories from earlier history or romance and to attach them to their own heroes. Lyric poetry is full of praises of this virtue and laments for its decline, and all the didactic writers place it high on their list of requirements.

Since this conception of largesse or liberality as the chief duty of a man of high rank is purely mediæval, belonging to the feudal system, having grown with its growth and perished with its decay,⁴ it is natural that the

⁴ In countries where feudalism never became a dominating influence in the

words "largesse" and "large" or "larc" should be first used in this sense in the country in which the ideals of feudal society found their earliest literary expression, in the south of France. They occur in some of the oldest specimens of troubadour poetry which we possess, which reveal the courtly ideal as already fixed, at least in all its larger traits.

Marcabru, one of the earliest troubadours whose name has come down to us, in a poem written about 1140 contrasts certain lords of whom he disapproves with another who is ever frank, courteous and a generous giver: "Franc de sazo, cortes e larc donaire,"⁵ and the Contesse de Die at about the same time describes her lover as "larc et adreg e conoissen."⁶ The famous baron and troubadour Bertran de Born (about 1170-1196) tells us clearly what traits he admires in a great lord: he must attract his followers by affection and keep them by the bestowal of gifts and honors; he must be frank and courteous and gracious and above all liberal and a good giver.

Ric ome volh qu' ab amors
 Sapchan chavaliers aver
 E quels sapchan retener
 Ab befaitz e ab onors,
 E qu'om los trob sens tort faire,
 Francs e cortés e chاوزitz
 E lars e bos donadors.⁷

This passage so well expressed the general ideal that another troubadour, Raimon Vidal, incorporated it bodily into one of his poems.⁸

But early Provençal poetry, being almost entirely lyric, does not offer detailed accounts of the exercise of largesse. Every courtly lord must of course be "larscs," but

national development, as in Italy and Spain, this ideal of largesse appears only in works directly influenced by French or Provençal models.

⁵ Raynouard, *Choix des poésies*, IV, p. 305.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 24.

⁷ Bertran de Born, *Poésies*, p. 120.

⁸ *Denkmäler der provenz. Lit.*, p. 157.

we must turn to the North to learn what this largesse is. It is interesting to compare the narrative poetry of the North from this point of view before and after it fell completely under the spell of the southern ideal of chivalry. As has already been said, the courtly ideal of largesse is hardly to be met with in the earlier *chansons de geste*. In them gifts are indeed bestowed, but from motives very different from those of the "larc" giver. For instance, when Marsilie proposes to send to Charlemagne "presents of lions, bears and dogs, seven hundred camels, one thousand hawks, four hundred mules loaded with gold and silver, and whatever can be contained in fifty carts," it is as a bribe, in order that he may pay off his soldiers and at last leave Spain in peace.⁹ In the *Couronnement de Louis*, one of the oldest of the *chansons de geste*, there occurs an excellent example of the earliest feudal form of this virtue, the sharing of booty between the chief and his followers. Rome has been taken by the Germans; Louis wishes to relieve it and his greatest vassal, Guillaume au Court-Nez, thus advises him:

Faites voz omes et voz barons mander,
Et tuit i viegnent li povre bacheler,
Tuit cil qui servent as povres seignorez
Viegnent a mei; ge lor dorrai assez,
Or et argent et deniers moneez,
Destriers d'Espaigne et granz muls sejoinez . . .
Ja nuls frans om ne m'en tendra aver,
Que toz nes doinse et ancor plus assez.¹⁰

In the same poem one is struck by the fact that Charlemagne, in advising his son before his death as to his duties as lord and suzerain, makes no mention of largesse, an omission which would have been quite impossible in the stories of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the *Charroi de Nismes*, another of these very early *chansons de geste*, the same Guillaume au Court-Nez men-

⁹ *Chanson de Roland*, vv. 30-34.

¹⁰ *Couronnement de Louis*, vv. 2254-2266.

tioned above, having received as a reward for his services in seating Louis on the throne of his father the promise of all the lands he can conquer from the Saracens, proclaims to all the "poor bachelors with limping horses and torn clothes," that he will give them money and estates, castles and marches, donjons and fortresses, if they will help him win his heritage. In a short time thirty thousand poor knights and squires gather about him with whose help he conquers all the South.¹¹

When, after his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Charlemagne takes leave of Hugh, King of Constantinople, the latter says to him, "All my great treasures I abandon to you; let the French take as much as they wish." Charlemagne answers proudly, "I will not take a penny of yours; they have so much already from me that they cannot carry it all."¹² Here we see rivalry in splendor and wealth and ostentation, but we are still far from the time when lavish giving is chiefly a mark of high breeding, a duty a man owes to himself and his position; when the greatest lords receive as well as give and when it is no shame to a knight to ask for a gift.

The introduction into northern France, in the middle of the twelfth century, of the courtly poetry of the South not only revolutionized the forms of lyric poetry, making it henceforth largely an imitation of troubadour models, but also brought into the literature of the North the ideals of the Provence. Henceforth the hero of French romance is no longer the mighty warrior sharing with his men the treasure they have conquered together, but the courtly lord with all his attendant virtues, chief among them largesse. "Cette poésie et ces idées," says Gaston Paris, "se propagèrent dans le nord, grâce surtout, semble-t-il, à Aliénor de Poitiers, devenue reine de France, puis d'Angleterre."¹³

History and especially English history has been rather

¹¹ *Guillaume d'Orange*, p. 90.

¹² *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, vv. 839-843.

¹³ Paris, *Manuel*, p. 96.

cruel in its treatment of this brilliant and beautiful woman. The daughter and heiress of one of the earliest princely troubadours, William, Count of Poitiers, she was brought up in the courtly atmosphere and the new ideals of the Provence. She brought to her first husband, Louis VII of France, and after her divorce from him to her second, Henry II of England, her heritage of more than a third of what is now France, thus laying the foundations for the Hundred Years' War between the two countries. Although three of her sons, Henry, the Young King, Richard and John, all bore the title of King of England, she never was really at home in that country and never played a prominent part there. But in her own domains and in France she was loved and admired, her court was frequented by the greatest poets of the day, and her influence in spreading the new ideas was very great. Her daughter, Marie, Countess of Champagne, was the chief patroness of Chrétien de Troyes "qui a fait des romans d'origine bretonne . . . les représentants par excellence de l'idéal chevaleresque et courtois de la haute société du XII^e siècle."¹⁴

The *Roman de Troie*, written about 1160 by Benoît de Sainte-Maur and dedicated to Aliénor, may be considered as the first poem in the French language written in this courtly spirit, which is henceforth to dominate the poetry of the North as completely as it does that of the South. Although this ideal is most fully developed in the *romans* its influence soon permeated all literature and even crept into the old epic tales of Charlemagne and his Paladins through the working over of the old *chansons de geste* and through the composition of newer ones to complete the great epic cycles. In all these poems largesse plays a prominent part.

An early and oft-repeated story of lavish expenditure and display is of interest as showing the fondness of poet and chronicler for such an anecdote and the varied uses to which a popular one might be put, as well as the way in

¹⁴ Paris, *Manuel*, p. 96.

which it might be modified to suit the newer fashion of thought. As told about 1160-1170, by Wace,¹⁵ of Duke Robert of Normandy, surnamed the Magnificent, father of William the Conqueror, it is a mere story of ostentatious display, like that of Charlemagne's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The Duke was going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and wished, in a spirit the opposite to that of humility, to impress the Emperor of Constantinople as much as possible with his own splendor and wealth. Shortly before arriving at the city he had his horse shod with gold, and when one of the shoes dropped off on the streets, he ordered his followers to take no notice of the fact and not to pick it up. When the Duke and his suite came into the presence of the Emperor, they took off their long mantles of silk and fur, and folding them, sat upon them during their audience, and, on rising to go, left them lying on the floor. The courtiers of the Emperor called their attention to this oversight, but the Duke replied scornfully, "I do not carry my bench with me," and departed, leaving his mantle behind him, as did all his followers. The Emperor invited the Normans to be his guests during their stay; but the Duke refused, saying that he was rich enough to provide splendidly for himself and his household, and that they required no hospitality. The Emperor then gave orders that no wood or fuel of any kind should be sold to him by any of his subjects. But the Duke bought at exorbitant prices all the nuts in the country and, burning them, had his food prepared and feasted magnificently.

This story, and especially the part of it concerning the use of nuts as fuel in order to avoid the acceptance of hospitality, is a great favorite with poet and chronicler. It is told, with much variation of detail, but with substantial agreement as to the main facts, of Mangold, Duke of Bavaria, ambassador to the Court of Constantinople; of two of the old Norse kings in the *Lives of the Kings*; of Leopold of Austria at the Court of Frederick II; of Adhe-

¹⁵ Wace, *Roman de Rou*, vv. 3067-3132.

mar of Limoges; of Richard Coeur de Lion; of the ambassadors of Aymeri de Narbonne to the Court of Pavia, and of several other heroes of history or romance.¹⁶

In the romance *Aymeri de Narbonne*, probably written between 1210 and 1220, this story is made to conform more fully to the courtly ideal, where the motive of display must always be subordinated to that of generosity or largesse. The ambassadors of Aymeri not only live magnificently themselves on their nut-cooked food, but entertain all the poor, the pilgrims and everyone "qui sache deduire ne chanter." They give and spend in Pavia all that thirty pack horses could carry. Whoever will may come to their table, and all may carry away with them whatever they desire.¹⁷ This is indeed largesse in the full acceptance of the word. The story resembles another which seems to belong properly to the same family, and which may be added to those mentioned by M. Paris. It occurs in the life of Thomas à Becket by William Fitzstephen, one of his clerks and familiars.¹⁸ He tells us that when that splendid prelate, then Chancellor of England, went to France to ask the hand of the king's daughter, Margaret, for young Henry of England, "as it was the custom of the French king to entertain all who came to his court as long as they might remain," he forbade the merchants of Paris to sell provisions to the Chancellor or to his "buyers" during his stay. But Thomas sent his servants to the neighboring fairs of Lagny, Corbeil, Pontoise and St.-Denis, where they bought enough to feed a thousand men for three days, and so he kept open house in the Temple, where he was lodged. Before leaving, he

¹⁶ For references to all these passages, see the very interesting study of this story, its origin and the different forms in which it appears, by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, IX, pp. 515-546. M. Paris thinks it to have come originally from some old *chanson de geste*, now lost. The three stories of the golden horseshoe, the mantles, and the nuts for fuel do not necessarily belong together, and have all been used separately by different poets. See also below, p. 207.

¹⁷ Vv. 2063-2255.

¹⁸ *Vita S. Thomæ*, pp. 29-33.

bestowed gifts upon every member of the French Court, from the great barons, the knights and squires, to the serving men and the poor; while even the students and the citizens were not forgotten. He gave away all his raiment, furs and silks, as well as all the magnificent table service of gold and silver which he had brought with him.

This story of the embassy of Thomas à Becket reads very much like an episode from any one of the *romans d'aventure*. Whether there is any truth in it or not, it shows us what was considered admirable in a great lord of those days. To keep open house, to give lavishly to all, this is the duty of everyone who wishes to win the admiration and praise of his fellows. Every wedding, knighthood, tourney or embassy must be accompanied by the giving of gifts, and by their number and splendor one may judge of the "courtesy" of the giver. The *romans d'aventure* are full of illustrations of the esteem in which this virtue was held; it is difficult to choose among their number.

In the story of Erec and Enide as told by Chrétien de Troyes we read that at the feast given by King Arthur at Nantes in honor of Erec's coronation more than four hundred sons of counts and kings were knighted, and to each the king gave three horses and two suits of clothes. And these mantles were not of cheap material, but of silk and ermine brodered with gold. Neither Caesar nor Alexander was as "large" as Arthur showed himself to be that day, for the mantles were hung freely in all the halls, so that anyone might help himself; and on a carpet on the floor were thirty bushels of silver "esterlins" of which each might take as many as he wished.¹⁹

At the wedding of Durmart le Galois, King Arthur and all his court were entertained; and here it is Durmart who gives to each gifts according to his rank and station. To the most he gave gold and silver; to the poor knights he gave, as is "courtois," horses and palfreys, goblets, cups and money; to the high barons, hawks and falcons, and

¹⁹ *Erec*, vv. 6660-6697.

to King Arthur himself, jewels and a beautiful black falcon.²⁰

Of course the poets and minstrels are never forgotten at such times. At the wedding of Flamenca, heroine of the Provençal romance of the same name, which lasted seventeen days and was celebrated by daily tournaments, feasts and dances, the bridegroom, Archambaut de Bourbon, gave so much to the jongleurs or minstrels that they might all be rich for the rest of their lives without ever playing again.²¹

In a didactic poem, Jean de Condé describes with great gusto the wedding of "Hardement et Largesce" and dwells with especial pleasure on the gifts bestowed upon the minstrels there present:

Là orent menestrel leur tans,
 Cascuns engramis et hastans
 De faire grant bruit et grant noise;
 Car la gentieus dame courtoise
 Ne les paya mies de bobes,
 Ains leur donna cevaus et robes,
 Or et argent as larges mains,
 Si que cieus qui en ot le mains
 S'en loa partout grandement.²²

It will have been noticed that clothing or garments frequently appear in these enumerations of gifts. To take off one's mantle or other garment and throw it to poet or minstrel as a reward for the pleasure caused by his performance seems to have been an accepted custom of the day, one which still survives among us in the form of the flowers which are thrown to or bestowed upon a favorite singer or virtuoso. Gerbert de Montreuil gives us a lively picture of such a scene in his interpolation in the *Perceval* of Chrétien de Troyes:

²⁰ *Durmart le Galois*, vv. 15179-15194.

²¹ *Le roman de Flamenca*, vv. 967-1000.

²² Jean de Condé, II, p. 284.

Cil contéor dient biax contes
 Devant dames et devant contes;
 Et, quant assez orent jué,
 Bien sont li menestrel loé;
 Car tout vallet et chevalier
 Se penoient de despoillier
 Et de doner lor garnemens,
 De départir lor paremens,
 Cotes, sorcos et roubes vaires;
 Tel i ot qui en ot .v. paires,
 Ou .vi. ou .vii. ou .ix. ou .x.;
 Tels i vint pauvres et mendis
 Qui fu riches de grant avoir.²³

But it is not only on great occasions that song or story is thus rewarded. Huon de Bordeaux, shipwrecked in an unknown land, takes service with a minstrel whom he meets. They go to a castle and the minstrel recites before the company there assembled, while Huon gathers up the mantles by means of which they express their satisfaction.

Qui dont véist ces mantiax desfubler;
 De toutes pars li prenent à ruer;
 Et Huelins les vait tos asanler.²⁴

Not only by example do the poets teach the duty of practising this most necessary virtue of giving. There is no lack of precept to enforce the lesson. Every young noble starting out in life is exhorted to practise largesse. The Emperor of Constantinople, sending his son Alexander to the court of Arthur, says he will give him

D'or et d'arjant plainnes deus barges;
 Mes gardez que mout soiez larges
 Et cortois et bien afeitiez.

Que largesce est dame et reïne
 Qui totes vertuz anlumine.

²³ Chrétien de Troyes et Gerbert de Montreuil, *Perceval le Gallois*, VI, p. 204.

²⁴ *Huon de Bordeaux*, vv. 7343-7345.

It is more important than high station, courtesy, wisdom, elegance, riches, strength, chivalry, boldness, power, beauty, or any other thing. And as the rose is superior to any other flower, so is largesse superior to all else, and its exercise makes a man rise five hundred times in value. It is gratifying to learn that young Alexander, thus exhorted,

Et largemant done et despant,
Si come a sa richesce apant
Et si con ses cuers li consoille.²⁵

When Partonopeus de Blois takes leave for a time of his beloved Médore, Empress of Constantinople, she provides him with twelve pack horses laden with treasure and thus exhorts him:

Gardés qu'as armes soiés pros,
Et par francise amés de tos,
Et sovenans de bien doner,
Et ne vos estuet pas douter
Que vos n'aiés assés de coi;
Assés aurés avoir par moi:
Ne soit bons cevaliers trovés
Cui vostre avoirs ne soit donés.
Humles soiés vers povres gens;
Donés lor dras et garnimens.²⁶

The Count of Nemours tells his son to be brave and generous and to win honor by always giving more than is asked of him:

Eu vol que sias pros e lars,
Quit quer .c. sols dona .x. marcs,
Qui t'en quer .v. dona l'en .x.;
Aisi poiras montar en pres.²⁷

Gui de Cavaillon, another troubadour, exhorts his patron, if he would be held in esteem, to be generous in giving

²⁵ Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, vv. 183-185; 193-194; 411-413.

²⁶ *Partonopeus de Blois*, vv. 1913-1922.

²⁷ *Le roman de Flamenca*, vv. 128-131.

and free in spending, to give to strangers as well as to his own household and always to say "yes" rather than "no."

Coms, si voletz esser presatz,
Siatz adreitz et enseignatz,
Lares et de bella mession;
Q'en aissi us tenra hom per bon,
Si als estrains et als privat
Donatz, e'ls enemies baissatz,
E c'ametx mais dir hoc que non.²⁸

The moral and didactic works of the age are never weary of dwelling on this virtue. In his *Breviari d'amor*, Matfre Ermengaud puts it first among the fourteen virtues necessary to the "fin amador," the true lover or perfect character.²⁹ When Brunetto Latini begs "Cortezia" to teach him the whole mystery of her art, she begins thus:

Sie certo che larghezza
È'l capo e la grandezza
Di tutto mio mistero,
Sì ch'io non vaglio guero;
E s'ella non m'aita,
Poco sarei gradita.³⁰

The quality of largesse is, of course, the chief touchstone by which the true aristocrat or "cortes" may be distinguished from the burgher or "vilain." Hence the danger of making an unequal marriage:

Chevaliers fausse molt ses loys,
Quant il prent fille de borgois.
Com erent larghe si enfant,
Quant il ert demi marcheant?³¹

And in one of the Italian *Novelle antiche*, all of which show deep traces of the influence of Provençal and French

²⁸ Raynouard, *Choix des poésies*, IV, p. 208.

²⁹ *Breviari d'amor*, I, p. 21.

³⁰ Brunetto Latini, *Tesoretto*, cap. XVI, vv. 1585-1592.

³¹ *Romans des Sept Sages*, vv. 239-242.

poetry, the absence of this virtue is held as quite sufficient proof of the total absence of noble blood. The story is too amusing to be omitted here.

A great king, wishing to have certain mysteries explained to him, is advised to apply to a renowned philosopher who happens to be at that time imprisoned in his city, "for some evil deed." The wise man answers the questions satisfactorily and the king in gratitude orders a loaf of bread to be given to him daily. Later the king is assailed by doubts as to the legitimacy of his own birth, and again calls the philosopher to his aid, who at once informs him that he is the son, not of a king, but of a baker. The mother of the king, when questioned, admits the truth of this statement. The king then asks the philosopher how he knew it. The wise man reminds him of his former services and of their reward, and goes on: "If you had been the son of a king, it would have seemed but little to you to give me a noble city; but to your own nature it appeared a sufficient gift to give me bread, as your father would have done." Then the king recognized his own baseness, took him from prison, and gave to him richly.³²

Rutebeuf, a poet of the later thirteenth century, laments in many a passage the decay of largesse. In his didactic poem called the *Dit d'Aristotes*, he makes the Greek philosopher thus exhort his pupil, Alexander the Great:

Murs ne arme ne puet desfendre
Roi qu'à doneir ne vuet entendre;
Rois n'at mestier de forterresce
Qui a le cuer plain de largesce.
Hauz hom ne puet avoir nul vice
Qui tant li griet comme avarice.³³

It is a curious fate which made Alexander the Great through all the Middle Ages the type and model of largesse, and Aristotle one of the chief teachers of this

³² *Le novelle antiche*, pp. 7-9.

³³ Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres*, II, p. 96, vv. 79-86.

virtue. The history of Alexander had never quite ceased to be known and enjoyed; it had come down through a couple of late Latin and Greek books, rather novels than histories, and full of all kinds of legends and anecdotes, to the Middle Ages, where it early became a favorite theme for the poets of the day. But the men of the Middle Ages were quite unable to conceive of any state of society different from their own. The genius of Alexander for war, his power of moving and handling great bodies of men, was incomprehensible to an age where fighting was a matter of personal bravery and of hand-to-hand encounter. They were struck by the occasional references to his great expenditures and his liberality, and in their songs he became the type and ideal of the great feudal lord, excelling all others in largesse even more than in the other courtly virtues. This trait in his character comes into prominence in the twelfth century, especially in the *Romans d'Alixandre* by Alexandre de Bernay and Lambert li Tors, a poem so popular that it gave its name to the meter which was to reign supreme in French poetry for more than six centuries.

Alexander showed his noble nature even from his cradle:

Mult fu li enfes larges et preus de totes riens,
Car de lui commenca li doners et li biens;
Ki de l'sien demanda, de l'veer ne fu riens.

And Aristotle, who is his teacher and adviser, does all he can to confirm in him these good tendencies:

S'ames vos chevaliers et faites lor gent don;
Vus saves, qui bien done, volentiers le sert-on,
Et par douner puet-on amolier felon,
Se voles larges estre, plus en seres preudon.

His gifts are princely, and are dwelt on with delight by the poet. One of the favorite stories is that of the knight who came to him and asked for a gift, to whom Alexander gave a city which he had just captured. The knight

thought the gift too great and asked for something more modest, but Alexander replied haughtily:

Je ne sai que tu ies, ne le cuer que tu as.
Mais itel sunt li don à l'roi Macidonas.³⁴

This story is a great favorite and is frequently repeated with variations not only of Alexander but of other great lords.³⁵

The followers of Alexander in lamenting his early death recur again and again to his liberality:

Sire, tu dounas tout, que riens ne retenis;
Ains euses douné .v. roiaumes, u .vi.
Que .i. bien rices hom n'eust .i. mantiel gris.
Ounor, sens et largecece avoient en vus mis
Lor cuer et lor entente à vus servir tous dis.

* * * * *

Largecece est vencue, si que mes cuers devine;

* * * * *

Rois, vus nos douniies vair et gris et hermine,
Et por nous faire rices, prendiies o rapine
Quanne vous trouvies sor le gent Sarrasine.³⁶

The poets and jongleurs also have their part in these bounties. In one of the poems we read that, at the knight-ing of Alexander, not only were the knights splendidly endowed with gifts, but:

N'i ot bon menestrel ne fesist son mestier;
Et li rois si les fist à lor talent paiier,
D'or et d'argent, de robes, les veïssiés cargier.³⁷

No wonder that this liberal ruler was a great favorite, and all through the Middle Ages we find Alexander cited

³⁴ *Li romans d'Alisandre*, pp. 5, 17, 222.

³⁵ Compare *Le nouvelle antiche*, pp. 10-11; also the old Spanish version of the story, which has reached this exceedingly simplified form: "E entro un omne a el, e dixole: '[O] rrey, mandame dar dies mill maravedis.' E dixole: 'Non los mereces.' E dixole el: 'Si yo non los meresco haver tu los mereces dar.' " Knust, p. 310.

³⁶ *Li romans d'Alisandre*, pp. 537, 530.

³⁷ Meyer, *Alexandre le Grand*, I, p. 175.

as the standard of comparison for all others whose virtues are to be celebrated. Gaucelm Faidit in his lament for Richard Coeur de Lion, 1219, says:

Qu'Alixandres, lo reys que venquet Daire,
No cre que tan dones ni tan messes.³⁸

Chrétien de Troyes says of his hero Erec:

Et de doner et de despandre
Fu parauz le roi Alixandre.³⁹

And such quotations could be multiplied almost indefinitely.

It is not enough, however, to learn what the poets' ideal of generosity is; the real question is, how the great men of the day lived up to the models thus set before them. Nor will stories such as that told by Wace of Robert of Normandy⁴⁰ afford the desired information, for they are told long after the death of their heroes and may therefore belong to the general tradition of the good old times. What do poet and chronicler report of the generous deeds of their own contemporaries, of the men they have themselves known and observed?

Jeanroy says: "La génération qui paraît avoir fait le succès de la poésie courtoise et dont les trouvères et les jongleurs vers le commencement du XIII^e siècle regrettaient amèrement la disparition, se composait presque entièrement de personnages nés entre 1120 et 1150."⁴¹ Guiot de Provins, writing about 1206 his *Bible*, a satire on the degeneracy of the age, laments the good old times and the liberal princes who have now passed away. He has evidently traveled widely, for he names among his patrons Frederick Barbarossa of Germany, †1190; Louis VII of France, †1180; Henry II of England, †1189, with his three sons: Henry the Young King, "li biaux, li saiges, li cor-

³⁸ Raynouard, *Choix des poésies*, IV, p. 54.

³⁹ *Erec*, vv. 2269-2270.

⁴⁰ See above, p. 192.

⁴¹ *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, I, p. 366.

tois," †1183, Richard, †1199, and Geoffrey, †1186; Henry, Count of Champagne, †1180, and his brother, Count Thibaud of Blois, †1191; Count Raymond of Toulouse, †1194; Count Stephen of Burgundy, †1197, and many others, adding:

Je ne vos ai baron nommei
Qui ne m'ait vëu et donei,

and he looks back with longing to the days when these men lived:

Deus! con estoient honorei
Li saige, li boin vavassour! . . .
Sil faisoient les dons doneir
Et les riches cors assembler . . .
Et li prince lor redonoient
Les biaux dons et les honoroient.⁴²

The poets and chroniclers of the twelfth century confirm the statements of Guiot and tell a very large number of stories of the liberality of these and other great lords of the day which show that they were hardly surpassed in this virtue by any of the heroes of romance. Perhaps no one historical personage had such a reputation for largesse among the men of his own age and that immediately succeeding it as did Henry, the eldest son and heir of Henry II of England and of Aliénor de Poitiers, commonly called "The Young King." His reputation for all the chivalric virtues and especially for this all-important one is surpassed only by that of Alexander himself, and admiration for him and his qualities is expressed no less by the grave English historians of the reign of his father than by the trouvères of northern France or the troubadours of his own beloved Provence. But the great personal charm and the early and tragic death of this young prince so impressed the feeling and imagination of his own and succeeding centuries as to make of him rather an ideal and romantic than a historical figure. The stories

⁴² Guiot de Provins, pp. 19-25, 15-16.

of his charm, valor and liberality belong to the domain of fiction rather than to that of fact and cannot be treated adequately within the limits of this brief study. His brother, Richard of the Lion Heart, was much less beloved and admired than was the Young King, but he too knew his duty as a courteous lord and performed it. Ambroise, author of the *Estoire de la guerre sainte*, tells us that he was present at the coronation of Richard in London in 1189:

La vi ge des granz dons doner
E si vi tant doner vitaille
Que nus n'en sot conte ne taille;
Ne onques ne vi en ma vie
Cort plus cortoisement servie.⁴³

At a court held at Messina in the year of Richard's coronation his knights and those of Philip Augustus of France complain of the great expenses which they have incurred. When Richard hears of this he at once promises to make good their loss and gives to each according to his degree so that all are satisfied:

E il dist que tant lor dureit
Ke chescons loer s'en poreit;
E lor dona si granz dons riches
Richarz, qui n'est aver ne chinchies,
Hanas d'argent, copes dorees
K'en aportoit a devantees
As chevaliers lonc go qu'il erent
Que de ses biaux dons le loèrent
E grant e maien e menur;
E lor fist del suen tant henur
Que nis cil qui a pié estient
Cent solz del suen al meins avoient . . .
E li reis de France ensement
Redona a ses genz granment.⁴⁴

Not only to his knights and to his own people did Richard give, for at Christmas, 1190, he held another magnifi-

⁴³ Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, vv. 192-196.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, vv. 1059-1070, 1075-1076.

cent feast at Messina, to which the King of France was bidden. Ambroise was also there and saw not a dirty tablecloth nor a wooden dish. Every dish was of gold or silver, finely wrought.

Ne onques ne vi, ço me semble,
Tanz riches dons doner ensemble
Come li reis Richarz dona
Illoques e abandona
Al rei de France e a sa gent
De vaissele de or e de argent.⁴⁵

Not only kings and princes, but every great lord and every nobleman of position and repute must be ready to give on every occasion and at the request of anyone. Count Henry of Champagne was called "Henri le Larges" and de Joinville has preserved for us an amusing anecdote of his liberality:

Ertaut de Nogent fu le bourgeois du monde que le conte créoit plus, et fu si riche que il fist le chastel de Nogent-l'Ertaut de ses deniers. Or avint chose que le conte Henri descendi de ses sales de Troies; aus piez des degrez s'agenoilla un povre chevalier, et li dit ainsi: "Sire, je vous pri pour Dieu que vous me donnés du vostre, par quoy je puisse marier mes deux filles, que vous veez ci." Ertaut, qui aloit d'arrière li, dist au povre chevalier: "Sire chevalier, vous ne faites pas que courtois, de demander à monseigneur, car il a tan donné que il n'a mez [plus] que donner." Le large Conte se tourna devers Ertaut, et li dist: "Sire vilain, vous ne dites mie voir, de ce que vous dites que je n'ai mez que donner; si ai vousmeismes. Et tenez, sire chevalier, car je le vous donne, et si le vous garantirai." Le chevalier ne fu pas esbahi, ainçois le prist par la chape et li dist que il ne le lairoit [laisserait] jusques à tant que il auroit finé [payé] à li; et avant que il li eschapast, ot [eut] Ertaut finé à li de cinq cens livres.⁴⁶

Count Baldwin of Hanau, another great baron of the twelfth century, gave largely to knights, minstrels and the poor, spent lavishly on courts, tourneys and warfare

⁴⁵ Ambroise, *L'estoire de la guerre sainte*, vv. 1103-1108.

⁴⁶ Jean de Joinville, *Mémoires*, p. 29.

and was liberal as befitted his station. Count Baldwin of Ardres and Guines was another generous and hospitable soul, who entertained splendidly all who traveled through his domains, whether clerks or laymen, and rewarded Gautier le Silent, who wrote a book at his order, with garments and horses, and with many other gifts and remunerations.⁴⁷ His son, Arnold, at the feast given in 1181 in honor of his knighthood, gave such magnificent gifts to the minstrels and players who were celebrating his name, that he gained great honor from them, but, as he spent in this way both all that he had himself and all that he could borrow from his friends, he was left quite poor.⁴⁸

Fitzstephen, the biographer of Thomas à Becket, considers this splendid prelate to be much more generous than his master, King Henry II. The story of Becket's embassy has already been told.⁴⁹ He gave largely to knights and to poets, and kept up a great and splendid household. Even after his death his largesse continued, for Garnier de Pont Sainte Maxence tells us that his efforts in describing the martyrdom of Becket have been richly rewarded by the saint himself and by his sister, the abbess.

De ço k'ai esté sovent las
De rimeier sa passium,
Il me rent bien, ne m'a à gas;
Assez me trouve guarisun,
Or, argent et robe en mes sas,
Chevals, autre possessiun.

Also:

L'abesse, suer saint Thomas,
Pur s'onur et pur le barun
M'ad doné palefrei et dras;
N'i faillent nis li esperun.⁵⁰

We should expect even more splendid stories of the

⁴⁷ Lambertus, *Chronicon*, ch. 71.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ch. 91.

⁴⁹ Compare above, pp. 193-194.

⁵⁰ *Vie de Saint Thomas*, vv. 5856-5861, 5836-5839.

great lords of the Midi, and certainly nothing can be more magnificent than the account of the court held at Beaucaire in 1174 by Raymond, Count of Toulouse, in order to celebrate his reconciliation with the two kings, Henry II of England and Alphonso of Aragon. Neither of the two kings was able to be present, but the court was none the less splendid for that. Count Raymond gave one hundred thousand sols to a certain knight, Raymond of Argout, who, being of liberal disposition, immediately distributed them among the ten thousand knights present at the feast. There was great rivalry in giving. Bertran Rambaud had the ground around the castle ploughed up and sown with thirty thousand sols in coin, and Guillaume Gros le Martel, who had a suite of three hundred knights, had all their food cooked with wax torches.⁵¹ Another baron had thirty horses burned before the castle, certainly a most curious and cruel form of ostentation, and the Countess of Urgel, who could not be present, sent a garland valued at forty thousand sols, in order that Guillaume Mita, a minstrel of whom nothing else is known, might be crowned king of all the bachelors.⁵² This is a strictly contemporary account, for the author, Geoffroi de Vigeois, was born and died in the Midi, and wrote his chronicle in the Limousin in 1183, as he himself tells us. It is interesting as showing what might be told and believed in the depths of a quiet monastery of the doings of the great lords of the day. Geoffroi seems to enjoy the story and shows no disapproval of what he tells.

The necessity of exercising largesse and the superiority of its claim over all other virtues is well illustrated by the fact that Albert, Marquis of Malaspina (1162-1210), himself a troubadour, when accused by a fellow poet of highway robbery, felt it to be quite a sufficient excuse to reply that, if he took the property of others, it was only for the pleasure of giving it away:

⁵¹ Is not this another echo of the old story of nuts used as fuel? Cf. above, p. 193.

⁵² Geoffroi de Vigeois, *Ex chronico Gaufredi*, pp. 444, 450.

Per dieu, Rambautz, de so us port guerentia
 Que mantas vetz, per talen de donar,
 Ai aver tol, e non per manentia,
 Ni per thesaur qu'ieu volgues amassar.⁵³

After reading these stories, and many more of the same nature might be added if space allowed, it is easy to believe Paul Meyer's statement that the men of the twelfth century "faisaient le succès de la poésie courtoise" and that regrets for their loss "se manifestent avec persistance chez les troubadours du XIII^e siècle."⁵⁴ It certainly seems as if the liberality of these lords must have been perfectly satisfactory to their own followers and as if nothing but praise for them would be found in the poems and chronicles of their own day. This is, however, far from being the case. The student of manners is struck by the fact that although the literature of the twelfth century abounds in such accounts of contemporary liberality, it is also full of laments for the decay of the chivalric virtues and for the degeneracy of the age, which are no whit less poignant than those of Guiot de Provins and other thirteenth-century poets. Marcabru, one of the first troubadours whose name is known and who wrote in the early half of the twelfth century, constantly laments the decay of largesse, and there is scarcely a poet of the twelfth century who does not refer to the lords of former days as more liberal than those of his own times. Bertran de Born, after a visit to the court of Henry II at Argentan in Normandy in the year 1182, the very time when, according to all the authorities, the chivalric virtues were at their apogee, complains bitterly that "no court is ever complete where there is neither jesting nor laughter, and a court without gifts is nothing but a herd of barons." The "ennui" and "vilanie" of the Court of Argentan would have killed him, had it not been for the charms of Henry's daughter Matilda, with whom he

⁵³ Raynouard, *Choix des poésies*, IV, pp. 9, 10.

⁵⁴ *Le roman de Flamenca*, p. xix.

found solace for his disappointment.⁵⁵ And elsewhere he says, "We jolly Limousins prefer folly to wisdom; we are gay, and we want men to give and to laugh."⁵⁶ But even in his own Limousin there is no one who comes up to his ideal, nor can prince or king win his full approval, unless it be the Young King. The age is degenerate. Where are they who used to besiege castles, and who loved to hold rich courts, and who used to give splendid gifts and to spend freely for knight and minstrel? Not one can he see.

Si flacha gen! On solh tornés
Que solon chastels assetjar,
E que solon sens man e més
Cort mantener ab gen renhar,
E que solon donar rics dos
E far las autras messios
A soudadier e a joglar?
Un sol no'n vei, so aus comtar.⁵⁷

It is only in time of war that he can hope to find the great lords spend and give as freely as he desires, and therefore he is constantly hoping for war and trying to stir it up. It is not because he loves war that he wishes that the great men should ever hate one another but because thus vassal and chatelain may gain the more. For a great man is more open-handed, more liberal and more easy of access in war than in peace. And a great war makes even an avaricious lord generous.

Nom tengatz per envazidor
S'eu volh qu'us rics l'autre azir,
Que melhz s'en poiran vavassor
E chastela de lor gauzir,
Quar plus es francs, larc e privatz,
Fe qu'eu vos dei,
Rics om ab guerra que ab patz.

Quar grans guerra fai d'eschars senhor larc.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Bertran de Born, *Poésies*, p. 126.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 54, 76.

Geoffroi de Vigeois, too, forgetting the tales of magnificent giving he has himself chronicled,⁵⁹ joins in the same complaints of the degeneracy of the age. Formerly the great barons gave liberally, and held great feasts to which all were welcome; but now they prefer to dress magnificently and let their poor dependents go hungry.⁶⁰

In the North it is the same story. The liberality of the lords is hardly ever what it ought to be or what it was in some far-off earlier day. Guiot de Provins, looking back from the thirteenth century, remembers Henry II as a most liberal lord; but Wace, who lived at his court and wrote at his command, while admitting that the king had given him much, says it was far less than he had promised:

Que nostre reis Henri la cunuisse e la sace,
Ki gaires n'a de rentes ne gaires n'en purchace;
Mais avarice a frait a largesce sa grace:
Ne puet les mains ovrir, plus sunt gelez que glace.

And he goes on:

Ceo ne fu mie el tens Virgile, ne Orace,
Ne el tens Alixandre, ne Cesar, ne Estace.
Lores aveit largesce vertu e efficace.⁶¹

Wace, at least, does not agree with the opinion that the twelfth century is the time when largesse reached its highest development, but pushes the age in which princes really practised the virtues of their station much further into the past.

It is true that Schultz says in his valuable work on mediæval manners, "Allerdings wird diese Freigebigkeit schon im dreizehnten Jahrhundert nicht mehr so recht geübt; auch sie gehört der guten, alten Zeit an, deren aber die Dichter gern gedenken."⁶² And the opinions of

⁵⁹ See above, p. 207.

⁶⁰ *Ex chronico Gaufredi*, p. 450.

⁶¹ *Roman de Rou*, I, p. 207.

⁶² *Das höfische Leben*, I, pp. 566-567.

Jeanroy and Paul Meyer already quoted⁶³ sustain this view. But is it justified by facts? Even though the poems of the thirteenth century are full of laments for the decay of largesse, we have seen that those of the twelfth century express an equal discontent with the liberality of the great lords of that day. It is easy to find in the poems and chronicles of the thirteenth and even of the fourteenth century contemporary accounts of lavish giving which are in no respect less striking than those already quoted from the twelfth. Savaric de Mauleon, baron and troubadour, who was "cortes e enseingnatz, e larcs sobre totz los larcs," lived in the thirteenth century, and so did Blacatz of Provence, for whom Sordello wrote a famous lament and who was, according to his Provençal biographer, a perfect model of the courtly virtues: "He loved giving and courtly love and war and spending and courts and noise and confusion and music and pleasure, and all those things through which a good man gains praise and renown. And never did any man love to receive as well as he loved to give."⁶⁴

At the wedding of the son of King Bela of Hungary in 1261, the splendid Ottokar of Bohemia spent twenty thousand pounds in stuffs and garments to be given away, and the quantity of food provided for the guests was quite on the same scale. When in 1295 Albert of Austria married his daughter to Hermann of Brandenburg, he sent to Italy for quantities of ermine and other furs, and to France and Flanders for the many garments which he wished to present to his guests.⁶⁵ William, Count of Hainault (1287-1331), gave a great feast at Haarlem, where he entertained twenty counts, one hundred barons, one thousand knights, and innumerable folk of lesser degree for more than a week at his own expense; and Jean de Condé says of him:

⁶³ See above, pp. 202, 185.

⁶⁴ *Biographies des troubadours*, pp. 47, 89.

⁶⁵ *Ottokars oesterreichische Reimchronik*, vv. 7663-7793, 67788-67802.

On ne poroit en nulle guise
 Plus large douneour trouver;
 Moult souvent dounoit sans rouver,
 Et fu ses larges cuers moustrés.
 C'ert li pères des menestrés.⁶⁶

Poets might still hope for great gifts from their patrons, for Sordello in 1269 received from Charles of Anjou, whom he had followed into Italy, five castles in the Abruzzi, with other fiefs and privileges which were worth together two hundred ounces of gold.⁶⁷

In 1220 Gerbert de Montreuil complains that the custom of bestowing mantles or other garments as a reward for minstrelsy has quite passed away; indeed, he has seen the very clothing which had been promised to the minstrels taken from them and given to serving men and even to barbers.

Mais ce poons nous bien savoir
 Que cil usages est passez,
 Que nous avons veu assez
 Mainte feste de chevalier,
 Quant il avoit prise mollier
 Ou il ert chevaliers noviax,
 Que cil escuier de noviaus
 À ces menestreus prometoient
 Lor roubes et terme i mettoient,
 Et illec venoient por euc
 Mais il en aloient seneuc;
 Car ils les donent lor garçons,
 Lor parmentiers, lor charetons
 En paiement, et lor barbiers.⁶⁸

Yet when Charles of Anjou gave a great festival at Naples in 1268 to celebrate his victory over the unhappy Conradin, "there was not a day when certain nobles did not take off their robes and throw them to the minstrels."⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Jean de Condé, II, p. 292.

⁶⁷ Sordello, *Vita e poesia*, pp. 61-63.

⁶⁸ Chrétien de Troyes et Gerbert de Montreuil, *Perceval le Gallois*, VI, p. 204.

⁶⁹ Saba Malaspina, V, iv, col. 862.

Evidence of the persistence of this method of expressing one's enjoyment of poetry is found in an occasional note of disapproval from the poets themselves. Rigord, in his Latin life of Philip Augustus of France, †1223, tells us that it is the custom of minstrels and singers to come to the court of kings and princes to gain by their flatteries gold, silver, horses and clothing; and in order to please their patrons they do not hesitate to make up stories about those princes, and to trumpet forth their small deeds of courtesy and their jokes and witticisms. He himself has often seen certain princes give to such players at the first asking garments carefully chosen and wrought with flowers, for which they had paid twenty or thirty marks of silver, and which they had worn only a few days. Philip Augustus, on the contrary, directed that his old clothes should all be given to the poor, for which Rigord praises him heartily,⁷⁰ though the minstrels of the day probably did not agree with this opinion, and it may explain why they find so little to say in his praise. Brunetto Latini, a Florentine politician who was also an admirer, translator and imitator of French and Provençal poetry, writing late in the thirteenth century his *Livres dou trésor*, a didactic treatise on the chivalric virtues, is hard put to it to reconcile the teachings of the courtly code with his own views as a man of practical good sense, brought up in a commercial community. Largesse is of course necessary to every perfect character. But, says Brunetto, "Largesce est le mileu entre avarice et prodigalité," and though "cil qui est prodigues est mains mauvais que li avers," yet there should be measure in all things. "Li hom qui en ces choses se desmesure est cil qui despent plus que mestiers n'est, et là où soffit petite despense, il la fait grant; et ce font li doneor as juglers et as menestreis, et gietent en voie les porpres et les dras dorez, et ne fait ce por amor de vertu, mais por sembler as gens que il soit larges et glorieus."⁷¹ So it seems that

⁷⁰ *Oeuvres*, ch. XLVIII.

⁷¹ Brunetto Latini, *Li livres dou trésor*, pp. 272, 285, 286.

this method of exhibiting largesse was not yet out of fashion. What Brunetto here condemns so strongly is of course what most of his contemporary poets praised and desired, but his comments show that this method of giving was not yet a thing of the past. The famous minnesinger, Walther von der Vogelweide, thought such gifts beneath him and says proudly, "Getragene wât ich nie genan" (Worn clothing I have never taken),⁷² and an unknown fellow poet of Walther's says:

Swer getragener kleider gert,
Der ist niht minnesanges wert.⁷³

But other poets were not so particular and a passage from the Belgian, Watriquet de Couvin, shows that even in the fourteenth century poets desired and claimed such guerdon. It is in a description of an ideal court where courtesy holds sway, that he says,

Mais seur toute rienz me plaisoit
A esgarder une maniere . . .
Que tuit li grant seigneur faisoient
Car li deduit tant leur plaisoient
Des hyraus et des menestreus,
Qu'autres n'avoient, fors entr'eus,
Leur garnemenz ne leur viez robes.
Jà mais cil qui servent de lobes
N'en vestissent ne jangleour,
Mais aus menestriex, trouveour
De nouviaux diz et d'estampies,
A ceus estoient departies.

All the court officials and servants were paid only in money, as is fitting, for:

. . . Riches hom tort a
Ne nuls ne l'en donne pardon,
Qui tost aus menestriex le don
Des dras viex qu'il doivent avoir,

⁷² Walther von der Vogelweide, p. 263 (63.2).

⁷³ Grimm, *Kleinere Schriften*, II, p. 185.

Car Diex sens leur donne et savoir
Des gentilz homes soulacier.⁷⁴

The rise of the cities and the growing concentration of power in the hands of a small number of great princes, brought with it the gradual disappearance of the small feudal courts which had been the nurseries of the chivalric ideal and with them passed away the poetry in which it had found expression. It is a striking proof of the power and persistence of an ideal that the troubadour conception of largesse should have penetrated so deeply into the thought of the more northern nations and should have endured so long in defiance of all economic law. This virtue certainly corresponded more closely to the social and economic conditions of the twelfth century than of those which followed it, yet the illustrations given seem to prove that the great lords of the thirteenth and even of the fourteenth century tried hard to equal their predecessors in generosity and to live up to the examples set before them in song and story and so to win for themselves the glory and immortality which only the poet can bestow. But poets are hard people to satisfy, and are always prone, as are the rest of us, to idealize the past at the expense of the present. Neither in the twelfth nor in any other century has there been a time when the gifts of the patron have corresponded to the hopes and expectations of the recipients of his bounty, or when literature has felt that society accords to it its full due, either in wealth or honor. While the singers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries looked back upon the twelfth as the golden age when largesse reigned supreme, the poets of that day were seldom satisfied with the generosity of their own lords. They probably agreed with their contemporary, Wace, in his belief that "it was only in the time of Virgil and Horace, of Alexander and of Caesar," that their ideal of largesse was fully realized.

⁷⁴ Watriquet de Couvin, pp. 345-346.

CHAUCER AND MACHAUT'S *DIT DE*
LA FONTAINE AMOUREUSE



BY ANNA THERESA KITCHEL

CHAUCER AND MACHAUT'S *DIT DE LA FONTAINE AMOUREUSE*

MENTION of the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse* of Guillaume de Machaut first appeared in Chaucer criticism in 1859, when Sandras made extravagant claims for the influence of Machaut on Chaucer's early work. In *Chaucer Studien*, published in 1870, ten Brink discussed the possible use made by the *Book of the Duchess* of Machaut's *Fontaine Amoureuse* and printed the Frenchman's version of the story of Ceyx and Alcyone with a few other lines from the *dit*. The substance of ten Brink's view as to the relative importance of Machaut and Ovid as sources for the *Book of the Duchess* is given in one sentence:

Chaucer ist vielmehr auf Ovid zurückgegangen, und wenn er in der ausführung des einzelnen sich häufig von seiner quelle entfernt, so ist dies auch in denjenigen fällen, wo er Machaut dadurch um so näher tritt, nicht immer durch nachahmung des französischen dichters, sondern zum theil nur durch das ähnliche verhältnis, in dem die beiden modernen dichter zu ihrem antiken vorbild standen, zu erklären.

The book over which the poet of the *Book of the Duchess* fell asleep was, ten Brink is sure, not some collection of allegorical poems such as Machaut's, but the *Metamorphoses* itself. Of ten Brink's view Doctor Furnivall in his discussion of the question says nothing. He is too busy annihilating Sandras, whose assertion, "Ce poëme n'offre qu'une imitation servile de Machaut . . .," is, he says, "mere gammon." "I do not believe," he says later, "that Chaucer ever saw the *Dit*." From this dictum Kittredge many years later made bold to differ. "Chaucer," he

says, “. . . utilized the *Fontaine* along with Ovid, for the tale of Ceyx and Alcyone.” So stands what seems to be the sanest judgment as to the source of the Proem of Chaucer’s early poem. Professor Lowes’s researches,¹ however, have shown that many passages in Chaucer’s poems usually thought to be imitated from the Latin *Metamorphoses* correspond much more closely to the Old French version, the *Ovide moralisé*. When Book XI of this work takes its place with the *Metamorphoses* already printed by Professor de Boer² we may find that it was the *Ovide moralisé* that put the poet to sleep and neither the Latin classic nor Machaut’s poem.

But does the whole case for Chaucer’s use of the *Fontaine Amoureuse* in connection with the *Book of the Duchess* depend on proving his close following of the Ceyx story? Frankly, it has so depended. For except to students having access to the manuscripts in the Bibliothèque Nationale no version of the entire poem is available; ten Brink’s printing of the Proem and a few additional lines remains the only part of the poem we can actually consult.³ The source of the most widespread acquaintance with the story outline of the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse* has been Tarbé’s summary of the poem which is herewith quoted:

Le poète à son reveil entend une voix dolente chanter les peines de l’amour, il saisit sa plume et se hâte d’écrire la tendre complainte récitée près de lui. Elle renferme entre autres choses l’histoire de Ceix et d’Alcyone. A la fin, Machault va trouver son auteur, et celui-ci lui apprend qu’il a simplement travaillé par ordre de son seigneur dont une dame repousse fièrement les hommages. Tous deux vont trouver le noble et malheureux amant. C’était un gentilhomme beau, aimable, et semblant fils de roi; il emmène Machault dans un riant verger où se trouve une magnifique fontaine de cristal ornée de bas-reliefs représentant l’histoire de

¹ *P.M.L.A.* XXXIII, 1918, p. 302.

² *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie von Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks*, Deel XV, April, 1915.

³ The edition promised by Doctor Furnivall in the footnote, p. 46 of his *Trial Forewords*, seems never to have appeared.

Nareisse et l'enlèvement d'Hélène par Paris. On s'asseoit, et Machault regoit les confidences de son nouvel ami. Ils s'endorment sans doute pour permettre à Vénus de leur apparaître en songe; après leur avoir raconté le jugement de Paris, elle promet sa protection au jeune seigneur, et évoque devant ses yeux une ombre gracieuse; c'est celle de sa belle amie qui veut bien lui sourire, lui tient de doux propos, et le laisse plein d'espérance. La vision s'évanouit, fugitive comme le bonheur. Le gentilhomme part pour un long voyage et emmène Machault avec lui.⁴

This is bare enough and differs widely, of course, from the outline of the *Book of the Duchess*, but the main situations in the two poems are, after all, alike. Even if we cease to consider the apparent relationship between Chaucer's Proem and the Ceyx story as told in the *Fontaine Amoureuse* can we still find reason to think that the *Book of the Duchess* is to an appreciable degree influenced by Machaut's poem?

In pursuit of the answer to this question it was my good fortune to be offered⁵ an opportunity of studying a complete set of photographs of a manuscript of the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*. The one chosen was Bibliothèque Nationale MS. français 22545-22546, a manuscript for the most part in excellent condition, plentifully illustrated with charming miniatures. It seems inadvisable to attempt any elaborate study of this text or to spend much time elucidating obscure passages, since the critical text of the *Fontaine Amoureuse* will appear in the third volume of Machaut's works to be published, it is hoped, in the near future, by the Société des Anciens Textes Français. A brief summary and analysis of the poem as it is given in the manuscript studied may not, however, prove useless even after the critical text is at hand.

At the end of the first column of folio 119 verso of the B.N. MS. fr. 22545-22546, following the conclusion of the *Confort d'Ami*, we find the customary advertisement or title:

⁴ *Oeuvres de Machault*, ed. Tarbé, pp. xx-xxi.

⁵ Through the courtesy of the Library of the University of Wisconsin.

Ci commence le dit
De la fonteinne amoureuse.

Then follows the Introduction (ll. 1-60), consisting of four parts:

- I. The poet's reason for writing the poem (ll. 1-12).
- II. A prayer to the reader to take the good and leave the bad (ll. 13-30).
- III. Indication of the method of giving in cipher the name of the person for whom the poem was written and the name of the author⁶ (ll. 31-54).
- IV. Transition to the story (ll. 55-60).

In ll. 61-1083 we have the preliminary incident in the *dit*, the poet's encounter with the singer, which may be outlined as follows:

I. The poet, lying in a doze, hears someone complaining so sadly that the piteous song strikes fear to his heart. He defends himself against the accusation of cowardice and digresses at length (ll. 90-188) on the bravery of clerks, the proper behavior in battle, etc. (ll. 61-199).

II. Introduction to the song overheard by the poet (ll. 200-220).

III. The poet rises and dresses but keeps his ear towards the window. He takes his pad and writing utensils and writes joyously the song so piteously sung (ll. 220-234).

IV. The song (ll. 235-1031). Up to this point the poem is written in eight-syllable couplets, the jog-trot narrative meter, but with the beginning of the song there is a change to a semi-stanzaic form:

Douce dame veillez oir la vois
De ma clamour qu'en souspirant m'en vois
Tristes dolens dolereus et destrois
Ne don retour
Ne seay dire ne les ans ne les mois

⁶ Cf. Machaut, *Poésies lyriques*, ed. Chichmaref, pp. lli-lili.

Las ainssi par les gracieus convois
 De vos dous yeux qui ont par mainte fois
 De leur doucour
 Tres doucement a douci ma dolour (ll. 235-243)

and so on. The scheme aaab aaab bbbe bbbe is continued throughout the eight hundred lines of the song. The subject matter of this lyrical outburst, if anything so conventionally artificial should be so crudely named, may be outlined in three parts:

1. Praise of the lady's charms and plea for her pity (ll. 235-542).
2. Story of Ceyx and Alcyone (ll. 543-698).
3. Further lament and praise (ll. 699-1031).

The narrative resumes with the last section of the preliminary incident:

V. The poet goes out to find the singer and coming to his chamber is greeted by him (in French, not Latin) and condoles with him over the suffering he has endured throughout the night. But the singer disclaims any love-pangs and says he has merely sung at his lord's bidding. The poet asks where the lord lies and goes to find him (ll. 1032-1083).

With line 1085 begins the main part of the *dit*, which falls into three divisions:

I. Meeting of the poet and the prince, entrance into the garden and confidences beside the fountain of Cupido, ending in the falling asleep of both lovers (ll. 1085-1564).

II. The dreaming of the same dream by both poet and prince (ll. 1565-2520).

III. Discussion of their dream and of others (ll. 2521-2738).

The first part (ll. 1085-1564) may be developed as follows: The poet finds himself in a lordly hall where a company of chevaliers is waiting to go to the tourney. He has not long to wait before he hears them saying, "Here is my lord." He turns his eyes and sees the prince.

- 1094 A donc bien po me destournay
 Mon sen et mes yeulz atournay
 A considere sa maniere
 Son corps son estat et sa chiere
 Mais onques en iour de ma vie
 Maniere que fust plus jolie
- 1100 En homme n en femme ne vi
 Et si eut corps trop bien assevi
 Car il estoit grans, lons, et drois
 Bien faconnez en tous endrois
 Gens joins jolis menus et cointes.
- 1105 Bien croy que d amoureuses pointes
 Estoit navrez ses cuers et pouns
 Et quil savoit trestous les pouns
 Qui sont en la vie amoureuse.
 La face avoit trop gracieuse
- 1110 Plaisant gaie simple et doucette
 Mais elle estoit un peu palette
 Pour ce que il avoit veillie
 Toute la nuit et travaillie
 Et si avoit il couleur assez
- 1115 S il ne fust de veillier lassez.
 Sus son chief ot un chapelet
 Et en son doit un amuelet
 Quil resgardoit songusement.

After this description of the noble gentleman there follows the story of his presentation with a hackney, a falcon and a little dog, and of his subsequent sending of them to a lady (ll. 1129-1152); and the poet concludes in speaking of his lordship's appearance (ll. 1153-1154)

Brief tant estoit de bel aroy
 Quil sambloit estre filz a roy.

A moral dissertation (ll. 1157-c.1199) on the theme "Handsome is as handsome does," setting forth the frequent contrast between outer seeming and inner spirit and pointing out the whole duty of monarchs, precedes the story of the actual meeting of Poet and Prince (ll. 1201-1287). Much courtesy passes between them and much talk of love, and they apparently wander off as they talk, for

at line 1288 they find themselves at the entrance of a beautiful garden. Admitted by the chevalier who guards it, the two stroll hand in hand till they come to the fountain which gives its name to the poem. The fountain and its surroundings are described in conventional terms (ll. 1298-1366). The Prince bids the Poet sit down and tells him the history of the fountain. The garden, he says, is the property of Cupido and is the resort often of Jupiter and Venus, who had Pygmalion carve the story of Narcissus on the ivory pillar which tops the fountain, and the tale of Helen's rape and incidents of the siege of Troy on the marble basin itself. The nymphs and fays come here often

Et lor parlement y tenoient
 Leurs gieux, lor festes, lor caroles
 Et leur amoureuses escoles. (ll. 1400-1402.)

The Poet is invited to drink from the fountain, but declines, and the Prince too says he will not drink, for he already loves too much. The Prince proposes to tell of the sickness "qui me perse le cuer et l'ame" and proceeds (ll. 1441-1506) to lay bare his secret love for a beautiful and cruel lady and to ask his new-found friend to make for him a lay or *complainte*, since he is sure he knows both the practice and theory of loyal love. The Poet promptly responds by pulling from his pocket the lay which he had overheard and written down that morning. The Prince is delighted with it, but marvels that anyone could know his love, so carefully has he concealed it, he thinks. And now, l. 1536, the Prince, apparently worn out by his confidences, lays his arms and his head on the lap of his friend and goes to sleep. The Poet, too, is overcome with drowsiness, and seeing that they are apparently safe from disturbance, he covers the Prince with his mantle and, laying his own head on the princely shoulders, falls asleep.

The second and longest division of the main body of the *dit* is made up of the dream (ll. 1565-2520). Two beautiful women appear, one of celestial grandeur, crowned

with gold and bearing in her hand a golden apple with the legend "To the fairest," the other looking like a fairy. The queenly one tells the Prince that this lady shall comfort his foolish heart, and then turning to the Poet says she will satisfy his curiosity about the golden apple. There follows, of course, ll. 1627-2137, the tale of the judgment of Paris. When that is over, Venus, for the crowned beauty is no other, says that she has brought the Prince's lady to solace and delight him, so that he should not die of love. "Now speak to him, lovely girl," she says, "and rescue him from despair." Then the lady seats herself by her lover, and takes him by the hand and speaks to him sweetly. The speech (ll. 2200-2488) is an elaborate love song in the same meter as the first lay given in the poem and is entitled "*Le confort de Venus et de la dame.*" Although the lay ends with line 2488, there is no change in the meter till line 2521. After the lady ends her song she kisses her lover "more than a hundred times" and finally exchanges rings with him, leaving her ruby in place of his diamond. But at last Venus, though rejoicing in the love-making, says that they must go, and they depart. The two dreamers awake and are frightened, for not only have they dreamed the same dream but they find the lady's ruby on the Prince's hand,

Dont plus de cent fois nous signames
De la merveille. (ll. 2520-2521.)

This closes the story of the dream itself, but its discussion appears at length in the third part of the body of the poem (ll. 2521-2738). After bathing faces and hands in the little stream that pours from the fountain of love the Poet and the Prince sit down to talk over their wonderful experience. The Prince swears lifelong allegiance to Venus, who has sent this vision of his lady to comfort his despair. He will found, he says, a temple in her honor and make there oblation and sacrifice. And he will found also a temple for the god of sleep far from all noise, and will raise a statue of him subtly wrought of fine gold and

mounted on a pillar of silver so that men may keep in remembrance his power. Sacrifices will the grateful dreamer make of incense, myrrh and oil, and will have songs sung in quaint and serious manner which should not disturb the god of sleep, for truly he would commit a sin who should break into his repose.

Lapsing into reminiscence of the dream, the Prince (l. 2597) speaks of the tale which Venus told of the judgment of Paris and then begins to sigh over the apparition of his love which, though it has comforted him and given him help against the evils which a lover must endure, has still further enflamed him with love. The Poet swears that the Prince could not have heard the tale of Paris since Venus was telling it in answer to the Poet's thought. But, they reflect (l. 2635), it is not, after all, such a wonder for two people to dream the same dream, for in ancient times in Rome a hundred senators dreamed the same dream at one time. This marvelous apparition is then described (ll. 2650-2693)—nine suns red as blood, dark, terrible all, appeared at once in the sky—and the story is told of the visit paid to the sybil of the Apennine mount in order to learn the dream's significance. We are referred for this explanation to the history of the Romans but the poet omits it,

Car l'exposition seroit

Trop longue qui la te diroit. (ll. 2692-2693.)

But astonishment at their curious experience and learned citation of its classical parallel are, after all, of little importance. The lover returns again and again to the marvel of his lady's appearing to him and mourns again and again her loss. The Poet reminds him that he has the memory of her apparition and of her gentle manner and kind words, and that he has moreover her ruby on his hand and the recollection of her kisses in his heart. At this the Prince is comforted once more and says never will he yield to grief or melancholy, but will commend himself to Venus, giving not a prune for all the dangers

of fortune. With this courageous assertion ends the main part of the *dit* (l. 2738).

In the concluding one hundred lines the narrative moves quickly. A messenger arrives and tells the Prince he must start immediately on his journey. The dreamers rise and go to the Prince's castle where a company of chevaliers attend to their needs. They hear mass and then go to dinner, where they dine well. After dinner the Prince begs the Poet to go with him on his journey for he has so come to love his company that parting from him would be hard. The Poet agrees readily to the plan and next day at dawn, after hearing mass again, they start out. The Prince is gay and sings songs, recites poems and makes their journey merry till they reach the sea. They spend three whole days in a little town on the coast and the fourth they board their ship. As they sail away the Prince turns his face to the shore and sings the following *rondel*:

En pays ou ma dame maint
 Pri dieu qu'a joye mi remaint
 Se j'ay eu peinne et mal maint
 En pays ou ma dame maint
 Espoir ay qu'en aucun temps maint
 S'en dit mes cuers qui siens remaint
 En pays ou ma dame maint
 Pri dieu qu'a joye mi remaint.

And when he has finished his song he leaves his country behind. Liberally he rewards the Poet who will never forget his generosity but thanks him truly and humbly and offers in return both heart and body. So he sails away over the sea armed against all arms, and against sighs and tears by the image of Venus and by the ruby which must not be forgotten.

Aussi parti je prins congie
 Dites moy fu ce bien songie.
 Explicit le dit de la
 fontaine amoureuse.

Such is the story as it appears in the MS. studied.⁷

Apart from the problem of its relation to the *Book of the Duchess*, the *Fontaine Amoureuse* has interesting aspects. The passage about the garden (ll. 1296-1416) is of course *Romance of the Rose* in origin, but the idea of its serving as a resort for Venus and Jupiter and as a meeting place for the fays and nymphs suggests a passage in *The Merchant's Tale* (ll. 2034-2041):

Ne Priapus ne myghte nat suffice,
Though he be god of gardyns, for to telle
The beautee of the gardyn, and the welle,
That stood under a laurer, alwey grene.
Ful ofte tyme he Pluto, and his queene
Proserpina, and al hire fairye,
Disporten hem and maken melodye
Aboute that welle, and daunced as men tolde.

And the *dit* connects itself with all the literature of dreams, not merely with the mediæval love-vision but even with such a modern story as *The Brushwood Boy*, in which, also, occurs the coincidence so emphasized by Machaut, the dreaming of the same dream by two people.

Yet the chief attraction of the poem for present-day students is its bearing on the question whose proposal originally led to the examination of the manuscript under discussion. As we come to the close of the quaint old *dit* we ask once more, "Did these lines of Machaut exert any real influence on the composition of the *Book of the Duchess*?" And our answer depends not only on possible resemblances discoverable in the two poems, but also on our understanding of the possible relations between the two poets. To twentieth-century readers the *Fontaine Amoureuse* may seem a minor poem of a minor poet de-

⁷ Not, apparently, the one familiar to Tarbé, since it differs notably as far as we can judge from Tarbé's extremely brief summary, in at least one point. According to Tarbé, Venus appears alone to the dreamers, tells the story of Paris, and promises her protection to the Prince before evoking the apparition of his love. In our manuscript the goddess and lady appear together, and Venus immediately offers her companion as a solace to the sighing lover.

serving little more than a cursory study. But guard as we may against overestimating the importance of the poem in question we are bound to recall that in Chaucer's day Machaut was far from unimportant and held for many years afterward a high place among French musicians and metrists. Deschamps applies the same epithet to his French master and to his English poet-friend. Of Chaucer he says,

A toy pour ce de la fontaine Helye
Requier avoir un buvraige autentique
Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie,⁸

and of Machaut

La fons Circé et la fontaine Helie
Dont vous estiez le ruissel et les dois,⁹

and this is mild praise indeed compared to that sounded in a former poem, his *Balade pour Machaut*, which begins

Armes, Amours, Dames, Chevalerie
Clers, musicans, faititres en françois
Tous sophistes, toute poeterie
Tous ceuls qui ont melodieuse voix,
Ceuls qui chantent en orgue aucune fois
Et qui ont chier le doulz art de musique,
Demenez dueil, plourez, car c'est bien drois,
La mort Machaut le noble rethorique.¹⁰

To Chaucer, Guillaume de Machaut was undoubtedly a great man and the chances are in favor of the English poet's having read and profited by the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse*. Stripping from the poem the encumbrance of conventional narrative and conventional love-song we do find what Tarbé's outline led us to expect we should, a central core which might well have suggested to Chaucer the main situation of the *Book of the Duchess*. Both poems

⁸ *Oeuvres inédites de Deschamps*, ed. Tarbé, p. 124. Cf. also T. A. Jenkins, *M. L. N.*, XX, 1918, p. 268.

⁹ *Oeuvres de Deschamps*, ed. Saint-Hilaire, I, p. 245.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 243-244.

consist essentially of confidences between two men; in each case moreover we have a poet confided in by a forlorn lover of royal birth.¹¹ Though there are enormous differences in detail—and these differences we might enlarge on as showing what at that time constituted the gap between mediocrity and genius—and though hardly one line of the *Fontaine Amoureuse* is echoed in Chaucer's poem, yet a reading of the manuscript of Machaut's *dit* reinforces the impression that Chaucer might well have gained from the French love-poem a setting that fitted his requirement when he came to write his elegy on Blanche of Lancaster; in other words, that the *Dit de la Fontaine Amoureuse* did materially influence Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*.

¹¹ W. A. Neilson, *The Origins and Sources of "The Court of Love,"* [Harvard] *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VI, p. 62.

“EN MON DEDUIT A MOYS
DE MAY”



BY HELEN ESTABROOK SANDISON

“EN MON DEDUIT A MOYS
DE MAY”

THE ORIGINAL OF HOCCLEVE'S
“BALADE TO THE VIRGIN AND CHRIST”

H OCCLEVE'S *balade*, “As þat I walkid in the monthe of May,” which does honor in turn to Mary and to Christ, was “translatee,” according to the heading in the Phillipps manuscript, “au commandement de mon Meistre Robert Chichele.” The French *balade* which Master Chichele handed over to the accommodating old clerk has not been preserved, so far as we know; but a fragment of it exists in an Anglo-Norman copy, and is here printed from the manuscript.

It is written in a fifteenth-century hand at the end of a text of the *Roman de la Rose*, in MS. G. 5 (James's number 173) of St. John's College, Cambridge. The fragment, beginning at line 1, on f. 163, breaks off at line 120, at the bottom of 163^v, after which come the final flyleaves of the volume. The manuscript itself is of interest in that it was once owned by the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron, according to the account of it given by Dr. M. R. James, in his catalogue of the manuscripts of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1913. The volume was purchased by Southampton about 1615 from William Crashaw, the father of the poet, as part of “a faire parcell of bookes,—some ancient manuscripts and others printed,” which the earl designed as a gift “out of his own noble Inclination” to his college, St. John's. While the new library was building, the books lay at Southampton House, and only after the death of Earl Henry were they delivered to the college, as the gift of the

countess and her son; this volume, in common with most of the rest, bears the initials of the young earl: Tho. C. S.

A few lines of the Anglo-Norman text were printed by Paul Meyer in his description of the St. John's manuscript, in *Romania* (VIII, 1879, p. 335). Neither there nor in Dr. James's catalogue was the poem identified, except as a "pastourelle." In *The Chanson d'Aventure in Middle English* (1913), by the present writer, the fragment was pointed out (p. 78, n.) as a version of the *balade* which Hoccleve translated for Robert Chichele.

A comparison of the French lines with the corresponding part of the English poem shows that the fragment represents faithfully the text which Hoccleve had before him. It proves, too, that the old rhymester, in spite of the "meetrynge amis" with which he charges himself, possessed a certain dexterity in the conservation and rearrangement of rhyme words, as is seen in his second stanza in the preservation of both the rhyme sounds used in the French stanza two. On the whole he is here, as elsewhere in his translations, an uninventive follower of his original, though he allows himself considerable freedom in paraphrase, and sometimes manipulates a metaphor skillfully enough to suit his convenience, such as the "soules ship" of line 45.

Hoccleve's patron, Chichele, whom Dr. Furnivall described in the forewords to his edition of Hoccleve's minor poems (*E. E. T. S., Extra Series*, LXI, 1892, p. xxxiv) as "probably a relative of Henry Chichele, the Archbp. of Canterbury," is undoubtedly the archbishop's brother, Robert. This Robert Chichele is a man of civic prominence and of notable generosity to the towns of his birth and of his adoption. He is the prosperous grocer who figures largely in the Letter Books of the City of London, as alderman through a number of years, as sheriff in 1402, and as Lord Mayor in 1411 and again in 1421. The Calendar of Letter Books (Books H, I, K, edited by R. R. Sharpe, 1907, 1909, 1911) gives numerous glimpses of the respected magistrate: going out with his

aldermen “by a certain postern in the North wall between the gates of Bissshopesgate and Crepylgate,” across the ditch to the common land “called la More,” which he finds so covered with gardens and hedges, “as well as rubbish and filth,” that a strict ordinance straightway follows (Letter Book I, p. 101); ordering that every brewer and piebaker sell ale only from “pewter pots . . . sealed with the seal of the Chamber,” not from tankards or “hanaps” or other cups not of standard measure (p. 97); ordaining also that eels brought to London in “eleshippes” shall be sold by weight, the large “stobelele” at 2*d.* the pound, the middling or “shastele” at 1½*d.*, the small eel, called “pymperneel,” at 1*d.* (p. 101). Perhaps like his fellow mayors on similar occasions, he himself held the fish scales, just as in person he viewed and measured the waste land granted by the city to the church of St. John de Walbrooke (p. 102). He takes part in ordering that nobody be forced “to join in ‘hokkyng’ on Monday and Tuesday, the ‘hokkedays’ ” (p. 194). Letters patent in 1413-1414 appoint him with the Mayor, with Richard Whityngtone, and others, “to make search for, and commit to prison, all Lollards within the City and suburbs” (p. 123). His benefactions appear also in the Letter Books: “6 Nov., 18 Henry VI [A. D. 1439], came into the Court of the lord the King, . . . executors of Robert Chichele, late grocer, and brought the sum of £20, lately bequeathed by the said Robert for the maintenance of London Bridge, and also a like sum for the maintenance of the work of the Guildhall.” (Letter Book K, p. 231.) Stow in his *Survey* (edited by C. L. Kingsford, I, p. 109) records among actions done by worthy citizens: “*Robert Chichley* Grocer, Maior, 1422. appointed by his Testament, that on his minde day, a competent dinner should be ordained for 2400. poore men housholders of this Citie, and euerie man to haue two pence in money. More, he gaue one large plot of ground therevpon to build the new parish Church of S. *Stephen* neare vnto Walbrooke.” Elsewhere (p. 227) Stow shows

Robert Chichele laying the first stone of this new "fayre Church of Saint Stephen," and adds that he "gaue, more, one hundred pound to the sayde worke," and bore other charges, such as for timber and the carriage thereof. With his brothers, the Sheriff and the Archbishop, Robert is said by Besant, in his *Mediæval London* (I, p. 263), to have rebuilt the church of their native town, Higham Ferrers, and to have endowed it with school, almshouse, and College of Priests. Although of munificence to poets one finds nothing in all this register, one is set to wondering what Meistre Robert Chichele paid to old clerks of the seal who translated pious verse at his "commandement."

Of the date of such services to Chichele there is a general clue in the passage already quoted from Letter Book K; for the ex-Mayor was recently dead in November, 1439, according to this entry, though Buckler, in the *Stemmata Chicheleana* (Oxford, 1765, p. ix)¹ says that he died in 1440. Thus Hoccleve's *balade*, undated in Dr. Furnivall's edition, was certainly translated for Meistre Chichele before 1439-1440.

In the present printing of the Anglo-Norman fragment a number of apparently random flourishes and signs for abbreviation have been disregarded, and stanza division has been introduced to match that of the parallel English text, which is reprinted from Dr. Furnivall's edition, p. 67. I am greatly indebted to my colleague, Professor Florence White of the French Department at Vassar College, for generous assistance in preparing for print the corrupt French text.

*Ceste balade ensuyante feust
translatee au commandement
de mon Meistre Robert Chi-
chele.*

En mon deduit a moys de may

As þat I walkid in the
monthe of May

¹ Dr. Hope Emily Allen kindly looked up this reference for me.

Pensant aloy iuxt vne boscage

Les floures diuers diuisay²

Oseux chauncheantz a lour
vsage

De cele disport me confortay

Mes vne pense point mon co-
rage

Que morir mestoit mes quant
ne say

Ne ou deuenir a quele³ ostage

En cele repense si regarday

Vne crois paynte de bele ym-
age

Pensant nesties *que* cendir *et*
tay

Le vie passe come fait le vm-
brage

Et rien de cors *que* pecche nay

Que quert al alme tres grant
damage

En ihesu crist dounq me deli-
tay

Merci criant de mon outrage

De faire bien de mal retrere⁴

Mes de ceo metter en long res-
pit

Auient souent mult grant con-
trere

Besyde a grouc in an heuy
musynge,

Floures dyuerse I sy, right
fressh and gay,

And briddes herde I eek
lustyly synge,

pat to myn herte yaf a con-
fortynge.

But euere o thoght me
stang vn-to the herte,

pat dye I sholde / & hadde
no knowynge

Whanne, ne whidir, I
sholde hennes sterte.

Thynkyng thus / byfore
me I say

10 A crois depeynted with a
fair ymage.

I thoghte I nas but ashes
and foul clay :

Lyf passith as a shadwe in
euery age ;

And my body yeueth no
better wage

Than synne / which the
soule annoyeth sore.

I preyde god / mercy of
myn outrage,

And shoop me / him to
offende no more.

On god to thynke / it
yeueth a delyt,

Wel for to doon / & froo
synne withdrawe ;

But for to putte a good
deede in respyt /

² MS. *deiuisay*, the *e* marked for expunging.

³ MS. *ql*, marked for expunging, before *quele*.

⁴ MS. *retraere*, the *a* marked for expunging.

Voletz dieu *qe par* mon dit
 Jeo puisse a filz *et* miere plere
 Et purchaser a soun⁵ merist
 Et le plustoste *mercy* conquere
 Marie le miere de ihesu crist

Que par sa mort venquist le
 guere
 Verray home *et* dieu parfit
 A moy ma dame deignez re-
 quere
 Grace en cuer destre contrit
 Et verray penaunce si parfere
 Pecche de auoir en dispit
 Et haire *que* vous puit desplere
 En cuer *et* alme estre home
 parfit

Oiez seignour⁶ tresdouce jhesu
 Pite pregnez ploraunt vous pri
 De moy puant *et* foy mentu
Que repentant *mercy* vous cry
 Traytour truant chetif recru

20 Harmeth / swich delay is
 nat worth an hawe.
 Wolde god, by my speeche
 and my sawe,
 I mighte him and his mo-
 dir do plesance,
 And, to my meryt, folwe
 goddes lawe,
 And of *mercy*, housbonde
 a purueance!

Modir of Ihesu, (verray
 god and man,
 þat by his deeth / victorie
 of the feend gat,)
 Haue it in mynde / thow
 blessid womman,
 For the wo / which vn-to
 thyn herte sat
 In thy sones torment /
 forgeete it nat!
 30 Grante me gracé / to vertu
 me take,
 Synne despyse, & for to
 hate al that
 That may thy sone & thee
 displesid make!

Mercyful lord Ihesu / me
 heere, I preye,
 þat right vnkynde / & fals
 am vn-to thee!
 I am right swich; I may it
 nat withseye.
 With salte teeres craue I
 thy pitee,
 And herte contryt / *mercy*
 haue on me

⁵ MS. *asoun*.

⁶ MS. has before *seignour* an abbreviation for *sieur* or *seignour*, apparently marked for expunging; cf. l. 82.

Tresfaucement vous ay seruy

Par ma desert ieo sui perdu

Si en ta grace ne troue mercy

þat am thy recreant cay-
tif traitour!

By my dissertes, oghte I
dampned be;

40 But ay thy mercy heetith
me socour.

Pucelle pleisont soucrayn
jhesu

En ta prayer surment maffy

Moy doignez confort vigour *et*
vertu

Que ieo pecchour ne suy pery

Vers le felon mon soiez escu

Et ne mettez en obly

Que en ma besoigne ne soy
vencu

Par les engyns de fel enemy

Lady benigne / our sou-
ereyn refuyt!

Seur trust haue I, to han,
by thy prayeere,

Of strength / & confort, so
vertuous fruyt,

That I shal sauf be, Crys-
tes modir deere!

My soules ship, gouerne
thow, & steere!

Let me nat slippe out of
thy remembrance,

Lest, whan þat I am rype
vn-to my beere,

The feend me assaille, &
haue at the outrance.

Merciez *et* gracez rendre desire

Et doy a dieu bien seruire

Qui pour moy suffrist si grant
martire

De gre soy digne en crois mo-
rire

Faitz moy desore pecche des-
pire

Et pour moun prue touz iours
haire

Et a grant iour de cruele ire

Ne me suffrez chaytif perire

To thanke thee, lord /
hyly holde I am,

50 For my gilt / nat for thyn /
þat woldest die,

Who souffred euere swich
a martirdam.

Yit thy deeth gat of the
feend the maistrie,

And þat, al kynde of man
may testifie.

O! blessid be thy loue
charitable,

þat list so deere our syn-
ful soules bie,

To make vs sauf / wher
we weren dampnable.

Dignes dame de haut enpire

Moy ton *seruant* souenire

Tastez moun male *et* ma matire

Et me facez mercy meriere

Pour moy prayez le puissant
miere

Que me voille de mal gariere

Que puisse touz malz descom-
fire

Et puis a vous oue ioye venire

A vous seignour touz honurs
doy

Tout ma ioy en vous remeint

Qui charnel cors receustez
pour moy

En crois estoutez clere sank
teint

Ceo *que* iay mespris countre
ma foy

Par vertu de vous sire soit
esteint

Mire espouse *et* virgine verroy

Teofle sauastez *et* autres meint

En vous espoire *et* ferment
croy

Que vostre request touz vicez
venquit

Merciez priez dieu vaillant roy

Now thy socour / o Heu-
enes Emperice,

Fro me, wrecche, torne
thow nat thy face!

Ther as I deepe wrappid
am in vice,

60 Gretter neede haue I /
thyn help to purchace!

Vn-to the souerain leche,
preye of grace,

þat he my wowndes /
vouchesauf to cure,

So þat the feend my soule
nat embrace,

Al thogh I haue agilt ouer
measure.

Wel oghten we thee
thanke, gracious lord,

þat thee haast humbled,
for to been allied

To vs! auctour of pees and
of concord,

On the crois was thy skin
in-to blood died!

Allas! why haue I me to
synne applied?

70 Why is my soule encom-
brid so with synne?

Lord, in al þat I haue me
mis gyed,

Foryeue / & of my trespas
wole I blynne.

Lady / wardeyn of peple
fro ruyne,

þat sauedest Theoffe and
many mo!

Of thy grace, myn herte
enlumyne!

Al alme⁷ *que* a vous de pecche
se pleint

Que penser puisse quant ieo
feruoy

Come fausement ay ma foy⁸
enfraint

Et amendre lez faitz de moy

De touz *que* iay foruey plus
meint

Priant pardoun de mon pecche

A vous me rend⁹ sieur¹⁰ sou-
erein

Recoinchant qe iay erre

Et despendu mon temps en
vayn

Jhesu *pour* moy en crois peyne

De mon pecchez me facez sein

Quant si chere mauez chate

De moy sauer nauetz dedeyn

Miere de mercy roigne saphire

Vaillant de noble engrain

A moy cheitif *et* desconseille

De puant pecche *que* suy si
pleyn

For, as I trowe, & woot it
wel also,

Thy might is me to waris-
she of my wo.

Of thy benigne sone, mercy
craue,

Of þat forueyed haue I, &
mis go.

80 His wil is thyn / my soule
keepe & saue!

Lord Ihesu Cryst / I axe
of thee pardoun!

I yilde me to thee, lord
souereyn!

My gilt confesse I / lord /
make vnioun

Betwixt thee & my soule /
for in veyn

My tyme haue I despendid
in certeyn.

Some of the dropes of thy
precious blood

þat the crois made as weet
as is the reyn,

Despende on me, lord mer-
ciable & good!

Lady! þat clept art ‘modir
of mercy,’

90 Noble saphir / to me þat
am ful lame

Of vertu, and am ther-to
enemy,

Thy welle of pitee, in thy
sones name,

⁷ MS. has *Al* inserted in the margin before *Alme que*, etc.

⁸ MS. *mafoy*.

⁹ MS. *renk*.

¹⁰ MS. has same abbreviation here as is expunged in l. 33 before *seignour*: the sign for *sire*, followed by the abbreviation for *(o)ur*.

Mettez la seurte de ta pite
 Et a mon mal mettez la mayn
 Tout soy ieo de grace despoire
 Si vous *pour*¹¹ me fferrez cer-
 tain

Pecche *que* touz biens flestri
 Me ad mis vers dieu en tal dis-
 corde
Que malme est ia tout peri
 Si *par* ta mercy ne veint re-
 sorte
 Sire ta mercy toux malx meis-
 tre
 Ne me dampnes *pour* mon mes-
 port
 Mes de amendre ma folie vie
Par pite mettez a mon cuer
 confort

Douce dame de grace¹² garnie
 En tristour solas en perile port
 Countre le maux *que* malme
 cspire
 Aider me voillez a la mort
 Mettez la crois en ma partie
Que treacul est a chescoun tort

Lete on me flowe / to
 pource my blame,
 Lest in to Despeir þat I
 slippe & falle!
 For my seurtee to keepe
 me fro blame,
 Of pitee, mirour, I vn-to
 thee calle!

Synne, þat is to euery
 vertu fo,
 Betwixt god & me / maad
 hath swich debat,
 þat my soule is dampnyd
 for eueremo,
 100 But if þat mercy / which
 hath maad thacat
 Of mannes soule, þat was
 violat
 By likerous lust & dis-
 obedience,
 For which our lord Ihesu
 was incarnat,
 Me helpe make the feend
 resistance!

Lady! þat art of grace
 spryng & sours,
 Port in peril / solas in
 heuynesse!
 Of thy wont bontee, keepe
 alway the cours!
 Lat nat the feend, at my
 deeth me oppresse!
 Torne the crois to me,
 noble Princesse,
 110 Which vn-to euery soor is
 the triacle!

¹¹ MS. apparently *pri*.

¹² MS. repeats *grace*.

Et tout nay ieo grace merie

Par pite proeurez lacorde

Par pite grace mon cuer attent

Par pite espoire mercy trouer

Alas *que* ay ferray cheitif do-
lent

Que tant¹³ ay *serui* le aduersir

Merci seignour ieo me repent

Et de mez pecches voillez ses-
ser

Ceo qe le cors *vers* vous mes-
prent

Al alme voilles relessen

Thogh my dissert be naght
/ of thy goodnesse,
Ageyn the feendes wrench-
es, make obstacle!

Lord, on thy grace & pitee
/ myn herte ay
Awaitith / to purchace thy
mercy.

Allas! I caytif / wel I
mourne may,
Syn the feend serued often
sythe haue y.

It reewith me / do *with* me
graciously,

For I purpose to stynte of
my synnes.

What ageyn thee / mis
take hath my body,

120 My soule keepe fro the
feendes gynnes!

¹³ MS. *taunt*? (with *a* above the *n*).

ON THE BURNING OF BOOKS



BY LOUISE FARGO BROWN

ON THE BURNING OF BOOKS

OUT of Hungary in the early days of 1920 came the report that the Horthy government had ordered the destruction of all books that advocated politico-economic heresies; that White Guards had made a house-to-house search for the works of Marx, Engels, Jaurès, Bebel and their followers, near or remote, and that the shelves of the Budapest library alone had furnished fifteen thousand volumes for a bonfire in its courtyard. The Communist régime was stated to have made a similarly clean sweep of books devoted to views it regarded as old-fashioned.¹

Americans, accustomed during and since the war to conscientious efforts on the part of their own government to protect their minds from revolutionary propaganda, ought to hear this news with admiration for the Hungarians, in thus setting the world an example of efficiency and thoroughness in the policy of fighting ideas by the method of extermination. And yet there is little doubt that to many persons the picture evoked by the story of that Budapest bonfire is that of some scene in the Middle Ages—the burning of the works of Huss at Prague, or of those of Wycliffe at Oxford and St. Paul's Cross. For somehow the practice seems to us mediæval; not in harmony with the spirit of the modern world. It was eighteenth-century rationalism which made it so, asking the question that the news from Hungary itself evokes: If the orthodoxy of one régime is to be the heresy of the next, what will be the condition of our library shelves after two changes of government?

That the mediæval heresies were religious, and the

¹ *Mercur de France*, CXXXVII, 1920, p. 573.

modern heresies political and economic, should not be allowed to darken our judgment. The common hangman who cast the writings of Wycliffe into the flames was exercising the police power of the state quite as much as the White Guard performing the same service with *Das Kapital*; for attacks upon the doctrines of the Church were felt to be quite as great a menace to the social order as attacks upon any purely political institution. In both cases reason was challenging authority, and if we feel the need of arguments to defend our modern heresy-hunting we may profitably seek them in the story of mediæval bonfires. The arguments are marshaled, and the story told, in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century treatises written to defend the ancient usage against the attacks of the rationalists. Perhaps the most useful of these is the book of the Jesuit, Jacob Gretser, first published in 1603, *De jure et more prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi libros haereticos et noxios*.

The author diverts himself in his preface by quoting leading Lutherans on the necessity of suppressing Calvinist works, and leading Calvinists on the necessity of suppressing Lutheran works. He praises both for their zeal, and declares them only wrong when either faction complains of the policy of the other. For of course both Lutheran and Calvinist works deserve suppression, in order that the Truth may prevail. Did not Erasmus declare "nullum venenum esse praesentius malo libro"? By further quotations Gretser shows that the Protestant arguments for suppression are the same as those of the ancient Church: the argument from precedent. The temporary victory of the rationalists has put this particular form of appeal to authority out of fashion, and the modern mind, satisfied with the principle *salus populi*, finds something quaint in the solemn way in which these earlier defenders of book-burning point out that the practice must be good since it has been handed down from age to age. But even if we do not find the same force in the argument that our ancestors did, to scan their grave

review of the history of the practice may not be a work of supererogation, if we can glean some information that will help us to judge the ultimate effect upon society of the policy of suppression. Gretser and his fellow Jesuit Zaccaria, who wrote in the following century, assembled every historical instance of book-burning that they could find in the sources to which they had access. For us it will be sufficient to select merely those instances that illustrate clearly the struggle between reason and authority.²

Writing in an age enthusiastic over classical antiquity, the first of our authors pays brief tribute to the cases of book confiscation among the Greeks and Romans. But for a Christian world, the important precedent was set at Ephesus, where through the influence of Paul the books of magic were publicly burned. This was the scene frequently represented in early editions of the Roman Index, and with it, illustrated by a spirited woodcut, Zaccaria begins his treatise. The computed value of the books sacrificed, reduced to contemporary currency, seems to have been felt, by Protestant as well as Catholic authors, to point the moral as effectively as the illustration adorned the tale.

The precedent for the intervention of the state in these matters was believed to have been set by the Emperor Constantine after the condemnation of the *Thalia* of Arius by the Council of Nicaea. Socrates in his *Ecclesiastical History* gives the text of a letter of Constantine, ordering that all Arian writings be burned, and that persons possessing copies give them up under pain of death. The genuineness of this edict has not been questioned before our own day, but the young German scholar who caused such a flurry among historians some years ago by questioning the edict of Milan, has since

² F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher*, Bonn, 1883, has assembled and verified the principal cases of ecclesiastical suppression. Unless other sources are cited, the reader may assume a reference to the early pages of Reusch's first volume, where the available sources are cited under each case.

scornfully waved this one away as a forgery. The cudgels against him have not been taken up so eagerly in this as in the former case, although his arguments seem quite as open to question.³ However, the point is not of importance for our purpose, for if a forgery it was a contemporary one, and the edict was used as a precedent by Constantine's successors. The edict of the Emperor Arcadius in 398, ordering the burning of the books of the Eunomians, and prescribing the death penalty for any who retained copies in their possession, was obviously modeled upon the supposed edict of Constantine. The Emperor Theodosius in 435 acted at the request of the Council of Ephesus and condemned the books of the Nestorians to be burned. He expressly referred to Constantine's edict, taking it as a precedent. Theodosius in 448 ordered that the books of the Porphyrians and the Nestorians be burned, and in 451 Marcian confirmed the acts of the Council of Chalcedon and ordered the burning of the works of the Eutychians and the Apollinarians. In the edict of 431 the retention of proscribed books was to be punished by confiscation of goods; in that of 451, by deportation. In 536 Justinian at the request of the Council of Constantinople ordered the books of Severus to be burned, and set as the penalty for copying them the cutting off of the offending hand.

Thus between the years 325 and 536 it was against the law for subjects of imperial Rome to have in their possession books that denied that Christ was consubstantial with the Father, or denied that he was physically begotten, or objected to the term "Mother of God" applied to Mary and insisted that Christ had a single nature, or asserted the physical nature of Christ. Moreover, the Arian emperors supported the persecution of the Athana-

³ O. Seeck, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Nicänischen Konzils," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XVII, 1897, pp. 48 ff.; "Urkundenfälschungen des 4 Jahrhunderts," *ibid.*, XXX, 1909, pp. 422 ff. See for the opposite view *Theologisch. Jahresbericht*, XVI, 1897, p. 101; XXVII, 1907, pt. 1, p. 318; XXIX, 1909, pt. 4, p. 345.

sians, although no edict of theirs for book-burning has survived, and the disputes about the Council of Chalcedon led to burnings on both sides, for Basiliscus ordered the decrees of the Council to be given to the flames, while Marcian ordered the destruction of the books in which it was attacked. These early examples of the ease with which the transmutation of orthodoxy and heresy can be effected are complicated by such decisions as that of modern scholars about the Nestorian heresy. A study of Nestorian doctrine, expressed in works that escaped the flames and reconstructed from the immortality given it in the works of zealous opponents, leads to the conclusion that it was entirely in accordance with the orthodoxy of the moment, and that Nestorius was sacrificed to the personal feeling of powerful enemies.⁴

In connection with the condemnation of Nestorian writings Gretser introduces a tale that reveals that the combination of propaganda with censorship is by no means a modern device. A priest had a vision in which the Virgin appeared to him, accompanied by John the Baptist and John the Evangelist. He begged her to enter his cell, but she refused, finally saying severely, "You wish me to enter your cell when you have in it something unfriendly to me?" She disappeared, and the priest looking about his cell in amazement finally found that at the end of a book which he had borrowed from a fellow priest, two Nestorian writings had been copied. He returned the book straightway to its owner, who, on hearing of his experience, cut out the offending works and burned them. The point of the tale is stressed by the recurrent use of the phrase *dominae nostrae Dei genetricis inimicis*, the term *Dei genetrix* being the one which Nestorius disapproved.⁵

The Arian heresy seems to have developed in its followers as time went on that tolerance which not infre-

⁴ Fr. Loofs, *Nestorius*, London, 1904, p. 88.

⁵ J. Gretser, *De jure et more prohibendi, expurgandi, et abolendi libros haereticos et noxios*, Ingolstadt, 1603, pp. 44-45. The story is taken from Sophronius, the seventh-century controversialist.

quently is found among those who are themselves sufferers from the persecution of the powerful. The rulers of the Germanic invaders who adopted the Arian faith do not seem to have hunted down the writings of the orthodox. But the report survives that when in 587 Reccared, king of the Visigoths, adopted the orthodox faith, he ordered that all the writings of the Arians be collected in Toledo and burned.⁶ One sees behind the act the prompting of the priest, who was only following out what had become the established and unquestioned policy of protecting the minds of the faithful. The great restorer of the empire, Charlemagne, for all his respect for literature and zeal in spreading knowledge within his dominions, had no doubt that in following the policy of the Roman emperors, his predecessors, he was carrying out God's will. The capitulary of 789 contained the provision that only canonical and orthodox books were to be read by his subjects, and that all others were to be burned.⁷

However useful, as well as proper, the Church found actions of the temporal power like this of Charlemagne, it had long ago outgrown its custom of appealing to the lay authorities to carry out its decrees. Already in the fifth century two popes set the example by ordering the burning in front of certain churches in Rome of the works of the Manichaeans and the Priscillianists. A similar action is recorded of Pope Hormisdas in the sixth century. By the seventh, Church Councils were carrying out their own decrees regarding condemned books. Occasionally, indeed, instead of being burned, such books were preserved in the papal archives "as a perpetual memorial of error." The act of casting books into the flames came to be a symbolic act, performed solemnly and in public, to represent the detestation Christians were supposed to feel towards the ideas expressed in the pages thus given

⁶ F. A. Zaccaria, *Storia polemica delle proibizione de' libri*, Rome, 1777, p. 59.

⁷ *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ed. Alfredus Boretius, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum Sectio II*, Hanover, 1883, I, p. 60.

to destruction. Thus an additional efficacy was given to the custom which was doubtless originally adopted as the most thorough and effective means of destruction of the written word.

Champions and opponents of the burning of books are accustomed to resort to the argument of the effectiveness or non-effectiveness of the policy in wiping out the offending ideas. The former are likely to point with pride to the number of heresies which were so effectually suppressed that nothing but their names survive, and to others of which we know nothing but what we can reconstruct from the writings of their adversaries.⁸ The counter-argument is that in the whole record of formal condemnations there are few if any cases in which one or more copies of the books in question have not survived, or, failing this, in which they cannot be reconstructed in the manner mentioned. This argument is really of no force except as a criticism of the thoroughness with which the policy was carried out, and of the policy of trying to argue with heretics. We shall see later how the Church came to amend her policy of argument; on the point of thoroughness she did her best, but never, except in Spain in post-Reformation times, attained to a degree of efficiency that would satisfy a modern specialist in that art.

For there is another side to that matter of thoroughness which is not usually brought out clearly. To a wholehearted advocate of the policy of exterminating ideas by suppressing their written expression, it is obvious that the Church suppressed, not too many books, but too few. Some of the most dangerous she never suppressed at all, and others she moved against when it was too late. This is shown so clearly in the story of the mediæval bonfires for which the Church was responsible that the wonder is that anyone should have overlooked it. First and most obvious is the failure to condemn the works of Augustine. In them are the seeds of some of the most dangerous heresies. It is well known that the Saxon monk Luther

⁸ Gretser, *De jure*, bk. II.

first came to doubt through reading Augustine. Centuries earlier another Saxon monk, Gottschalk by name, developed to its logical conclusion the Augustinian doctrine of predestination. In that doctrine is the seed of the attack upon the belief in the efficacy of works for salvation; it was the source of the first heresy, Pelagianism, and in its full development was bound always to be condemned by a church which emphasized works. Apparently Gottschalk did not so develop it, but the idea of predestination for damnation was untenable by the authorities of the time, although it seems to have appealed to many of Gottschalk's contemporaries. Condemned by one synod after another, sentenced to flogging and imprisonment, and to perpetual silence, he was compelled to throw into the fire the treatise he had composed in defense of his views, which he had fortified by liberal citations from Augustine and others of the Fathers. The world would have been spared the knowledge of the dangerous errors contained in those pages, to which Gottschalk clung convulsively until his forces abandoned him and the volume fell into the flames, had it not been for the zeal of those who tried to confute him. Thus was the purpose of extinguishing error defeated by the enthusiasm of the orthodox. Yet perhaps in this case it is well; for it has been thus made possible for the orthodox of today to reconstruct his views, and to pronounce that the doctrine for which he suffered obloquy, stripes and captivity, and which he held until his death, thereby losing the consolation of the last rites and burial in consecrated ground, was after all entirely free from the taint of heresy.⁹

That the policy of dooming Gottschalk to silence marked an innovation in practice in the French church at least is evidenced by the remark of one of the bishops

⁹ F. Picavet, *Les discussions sur la liberté au temps de Gottschalk*, Paris, 1896, pp. 649-656; and *Esquisse d'une histoire générale et comparée des philosophies médiévales*, Paris, ed. 2, 1907, p. 139; F. Laurent, *Études sur l'histoire de l'humanité*, Ghent, 1855-1870, VIII, pp. 306-309, 311; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, Paris, 1733-1914, V, pp. 85-86, 358.

present: "We were all horrified at what passed, for it is by argument and discussion that heretics should be conquered and convinced."¹⁰ But again it was in too much discussion rather than too little that the authorities indulged, for they made the mistake of calling upon the services of a man whose ideas were to prove the source of heresy throughout the Middle Ages. The witty Irishman, John Scotus Erigena, whom a modern scholar has called "the last representative of the Greek spirit in the west," promptly in the course of confuting Gottschalk developed heresies of his own.¹¹ It scarcely helped matters to deny predestination to hell by the statement that God willed the salvation of all and that Christ died for all men. It made them decidedly worse to declare that evil had no substance and was therefore incapable of infinite duration, for that argument disposed of the existence of hell. His treatise was condemned by two Councils, the first, that of Valence in 855, characterizing his work as "ineptas autem quaestiunculas et aniles pene fabulas, Scotorumque pultes puritati fidei nauseam inferentes."¹²

Another indiscretion of Erigena was his translation of the work of Dionysius the Areopagite, undertaken at the request of his patron, Charles the Bald. Pope Nicholas I was a man fully persuaded of the dangers residing in the written word, as is evident from his advice to the recently converted Bulgarians to burn all the books of the Saracens that existed within their borders. Just how much valuable literature perished in this way it is impossible to say. But it is at least fortunate that nothing came of his letter to Charles the Bald on hearing of Erigena's venture. He suggests that the translator's orthodoxy is under suspicion, and that the translation, or better still the man himself, should be sent to Rome for examination.¹³

¹⁰ Picavet, *Esquisse*, p. 142.

¹¹ R. L. Poole, *Illustrations of the History of Medieval Thought*, London, 1884, p. 52.

¹² Zaccaria, *Storia polemica*, p. 68.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 69; *Patrologiae cursus completus*, ed. J. P. Migne. *Series latina*, Paris, 1844-1855, CXIX, col. 1014; CXXII, col. 1026.

The immediate result of Erigena's labors probably had little if any effect upon its readers, because of its obscurity, the translator apparently lacking complete mastery over Greek. But it had a great effect indirectly, for the combination of the neoplatonism of the Areopagite and the agile mind of the Irish schoolmaster resulted in a treatise which was to affect the trend of thought of western Europe. It seems incredible that the *De divisione naturae* was to escape condemnation for nearly four centuries, during which it was to be the clear inspiration of one heresy after another.

The first of these heresies was that of the popular teacher, Berengar of Tours, who made the statement that the doctrine of transubstantiation was a modern innovation, and was not to be found in the writings of the Fathers. Much discussion ensued, and Berengar was indiscreet enough to remark in a letter to Lanfranc that the doctrine was not in accord with reason, and that he agreed with Erigena on the subject. Lanfranc brought the letter to the attention of the pope, a Roman Council condemned Berengar's views, and he was summoned to appear before a synod at Vercelli. As he had been thrown into prison by King Henry he could not appear, but he was condemned, and his book ordered burned, together with a treatise on the Eucharist supposed to have been written by Erigena. It was really the work of one of the Scot's contemporaries, Ratramnus of Corbie, and had been written in answer to Paschasius Radbert's uncompromising defense of transubstantiation. As a modern scholar puts it, Ratramnus's book left the matter "all the more dim, and therefore more possibly reasonable."¹⁴ It survived its condemnation, was frequently reprinted, was cited by John Fisher in 1527 against Oecolampadius, and has been used in modern times by a clergyman of the Church of England as a satisfactory statement of the doctrine of the Real Presence.¹⁵

¹⁴ H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, ed. 2, New York, 1914, I, p. 227.

¹⁵ Ratramnus of Corbie, *De corpore et sanguine domini*, in Migne, *Patr.*

Berengar had powerful friends, and four years later at the Council of Tours the great Hildebrand defended him from being forced to define too closely his views on the Eucharist. But in 1059 before the pope and a great assembly of bishops he was condemned to burn the book of citations from the Bible and the Fathers which he had compiled to defend his views; and to declare that he believed that in the sacrament the actual body of Christ "was torn by the teeth of the faithful." In Lanfranc's words, "inclinato corpore, sed non humiliato corde," he cast his book into the flames and made the required profession. As he himself said, "Troubled by the approach and menace of death, I did not feel horror at casting into the fire the writings of the prophets, evangelists and apostles." He later retracted his declaration on the ground that it was worse to keep a vow that never ought to have been made than to break it. He was summoned again to Rome, this time to appear before his old friend Hildebrand, now pope. Again he made a humble retraction, which again he withdrew, but wearied with the struggle he retired from active life, and was not further molested. The burning of his book effectually removed it from circulation: it seems to have fallen into complete obscurity, except for the quotations that had been made by his adversaries, until the discovery of a copy by Lessing in Brunswick.¹⁶

The behavior of Berengar seems much less brave than that of Gottschalk, but it must not be forgotten that by Berengar's day the punishment of heresy by death at the stake had become the common practice. The analogy between the burning of books and the burning of their authors need not be labored: one practice logically completes the other, though as a matter of history it was by

lat., CXXI, col. 125-170. See Preserved Smith, *History of Christian Theophagy*, Chicago, 1922, for the most recent examination of the history of the doctrine of transubstantiation.

¹⁶ J. Ebersolt, "Berengar de Tours et la controverse sacramentaire au XI^e siècle," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, XLVIII, 1903, pp. 1-42, 137-162.

the execution of unlettered heretics that the death penalty was inaugurated in the early eleventh century. The cases of Gottschalk and of Berengar are both episodes in the history of the struggle between authority and reason. Gottschalk explicitly set reason above authority, and Berengar, who shows plainly the influence of Erigena upon his thought, began with the argument that the laws of nature are immutable, and that the authority of the Scriptures must be tested by the light of reason. "Here was the subject of my trip to Rome: the holy table, the eminence of reason, the independence of authority." It was not strange that the challenge was taken up at the period when the forces of the papacy were being directed towards the consolidation of the power of the Church, and when the issue was being joined between the princes of the Church and the princes of the world. Nor is it strange that the authority of the Church, at a time when the question of the Eucharist had not been formally settled, should have been placed behind the doctrine which enhanced the authority of the priest, setting him apart to be revered from that time on as one who, according to the doctrine assailed by Berengar, "made God every day."

A new method was henceforth to be applied to cases of suspected heterodoxy. It was laid down by Anselm, Lanfranc's coadjutor in the struggle against Berengar. Pagans had to be reasoned with, but there was no necessity for argument in the case of a man who had had the advantages of a Christian upbringing. Faith should lead to knowledge, not knowledge to faith, and if a man brought up in the fold was not content to venerate what he could not understand, but persisted in advocating error, he must be cut off from the faithful until he repented.¹⁷ This was the method used with the next great champion of reason against authority, Abelard. He was called to account for having written and lectured upon a book containing a view suspiciously like that of the Sabelians: that God was one person in three aspects. The book

¹⁷ F. Picavet, *Roscelin, philosophe et théologien*, Paris, 1911.

was condemned unread, although the author begged to be allowed to correct any passage found to be unorthodox. It was held that the mere fact of his having lectured on the subject and having allowed his book to be copied without explicit authorization from the Church to deal with the subject was sufficient warrant for its condemnation. A brazier was brought, and Abelard was obliged to throw his book into it—an act which according to his own account he performed with tears. A copy of the work thus destroyed was discovered and published in modern times, after lying unknown for centuries. The burden of Abelard's teaching was that reason was to be set above authority, and in this he was seconded by his associate, Arnold of Brescia, whose heresy was aggravated by his opposition to clerically owned property. The great authoritarian of the century, Bernard of Clairvaux, pursued both men untiringly, and had the satisfaction of securing the condemnation of the works of both to the flames by the Synod of Sens in 1140.¹⁸

The heresies of Gottschalk, Berengar and Abelard hardly spread beyond the learned world; they might even be considered as early cases involving the question of academic freedom, as all were teachers. But the popular religious movements stimulated by the Crusades, and the spread of the Albigensian heresy, provided a wider field for the propagation of ideas based upon challenge of authority. An illustration of this is the case of Amaury of Chartres. Amaury, a protégé of Philip Augustus and tutor to Prince Louis, a skillful debater and a man of caustic wit, which won him enemies, fell under the influence of Erigena's treatise, *De natura*, and lectured upon it in Paris. The book declares the preëminence of reason and formulates, centuries before Descartes, the *Cogito, ergo sum*, borrowing it either from Augustine or from Plotinus through the Areopagite. Its tendencies are plainly pantheistic, and Amaury took the step to absolute pantheism,

¹⁸ E. Vacandard, *Vie de St. Bernard*, Paris, ed. 2, 1897, II, pp. 125-126 and *passim*; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, IX, pp. 28-29, XII, p. 94.

spoke of successive revelations of God to man, of God manifest in his creatures, and of revelation superseding the sacraments.¹⁹

A contemporary scholar, David of Dinant, was also apparently studying the *De natura*, and with its aid evolved the theory that all nature could be divided into three parts: matter, intelligence and God, and that these were all manifestations of God, under different names. Little is known of David, and there is no evidence that he ever knew Amaury. The latter, besides lecturing on the *De natura*, had called considerable attention to himself by lectures on Aristotle. He was denounced by an unfriendly colleague, went to Rome to defend his views, abjured them on their condemnation by the authorities, and on his return was forced by the University to make to his pupils a verbal retraction. However, he did not abandon his views, but was not again molested. He died some years later, but his ideas continued to be spread by his pupils.²⁰ Three years after his death a nine days' wonder was caused by the arrest and trial of a group of men, clerics and artisans, who declared that they had been chosen to inaugurate a new era, that of the Holy Ghost. As God had revealed himself first to Abraham, who had introduced the era of the Father, a second time in Christ, who had brought in the era of the Son, he had a third time revealed himself, this time through the Holy Spirit, to Amaury of Chartres, and they, his followers, were to usher in the era of the Holy Ghost. They denied the Real Presence, the resurrection, the existence of evil, and therefore of hell, and they attacked the adoration of images. It is not strange that such a catalogue of heresies should have won short shrift for the little band. The obdurate were burned, and the body of Amaury exhumed and cast into the flames. His writings, and those of David

¹⁹ Picavet, *Roscelin*, p. 91; Hauréau, *Histoire de la philosophie scolastique*, Paris, 1880, II, pp. 74-92, 100-107; Laurent, *Études*, VII, p. 295.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, and C. Jourdain, *Excursions historiques et philosophiques à travers le moyen âge*, Paris, 1888, pp. 117-127.

of Dinant, who seems to have been mixed up with the movement but to have saved himself by flight, were ordered to be burned. A complete purification of the Parisian mind was apparently determined upon. For in those days "in Paris people were reading little books by one Aristotle, as it was said, who taught metaphysics," a chronicler tells us. He explains that they "had secretly been brought from Constantinople and translated from Greek into Latin. They were all ordered to be burned, and under penalties to be withheld from burning. And under penalty of excommunication men were prohibited from writing about them, reading them or commending them."²¹ Five years later the great reforming Council of the Lateran, presided over by Innocent III, condemned the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, as well as the works of Amaury. The books of the latter, who disbelieved in the devil, were stigmatized as the work of the Father of Lies, and "not so much heretical as poisonous." Robert de Courcy, the papal legate, made express extension of this verdict to the University of Paris, where students were forbidden to read either the *Physics* or *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, the works of Amaury, of David of Dinant or of Averroës.²²

Another book condemned by this Council was a dissertation on the procession of the Holy Ghost, in opposition to Peter Lombard, written by the Abbot Joachim of Flora. The reservation was made that the condemnation was not to be considered as a reflection on Joachim, who had before his death submitted all his writings to the judgment of the Holy See. This gentle handling of Joachim was due to his reputation for sanctity, and his position as founder of a recognized monastic order. Yet this Joachim was the perpetuator of the doctrine of the three

²¹ Caesar of Heisterbach, in Hauréau, *Histoire*, II, pp. 94-99. See also Hauréau in *Revue archéologique*, n.s. X, 1864, pp. 417-434.

²² *Guillelmus Armoricus de gestis Philipp. Aug.*, in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Paris, 1738-1876, XVII, pp. 83-84; *Chartularium universitatis parisiensis*, ed. H. Denifle, Paris, 1889-1897, I, p. 70.

eras developed by Amaury and David of Dinant from the ideas expressed by Erigena in his *De natura*.²³

The evil lurking in the pages of Erigena's great treatise was, however, finally to receive condemnation. It was discovered that this book, which had inspired Berengar, Abelard, Amaury and Joachim, was having a popular vogue. Not only was this ancient work being read and discussed among the faithful, but it was widely circulated among the Albigenses. In 1224 the *De natura* was condemned by a council at Sens, and in 1225 Honorius III issued a bull approving this condemnation. The bull states that the book, which "swarms with worms of heretical perversity," is to be found in various monasteries and elsewhere, and is being read and studied by persons who neglect the apostolic warning against profane novelties, and who think it clever to be able to utter startling opinions. In view of the harm the book may do, copies are to be diligently sought out and sent to Rome to be burned, or if that is impossible, the copies found are to be publicly burned. Those who retain copies are to be excommunicated, and are under suspicion of heresy. That more than one person took this risk is evident from the number of manuscript copies of the work in existence today.²⁴

The book-burnings of the thirteenth century became inextricably mixed with politics: on the one hand, in the controversies between the Franciscans and the secular clergy in their struggle for control of teaching in the University of Paris; on the other, between the two parties within the Franciscan order. Thanks to the tenderness with which the Abbot Joachim had been treated, the doctrine of the three eras, for which the Amalricians had suffered, remained in vogue. Indeed, its vogue increased with the development of the view that the organization which was to bring in the era in which there would be no

²³ H. C. Lea, *History of the Inquisition*, New York, 1888, III, pp. 10-14; C. J. von Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, Freiburg, 1855-1874, V, p. 881.

²⁴ Translation of the Bull, A. Gardiner, *John the Scot*, London, 1900, pp. 139-140; P. H. Wicksteed, *Dante and Aquinas*, London, 1913, p. 43.

more marrying or giving in marriage, and in which perfection would be attained, could be no other than the Franciscan order. A Franciscan, Gerard de Borgo San Donnino, adopted this view. He collected three of the works of Joachim, which he regarded as a Key to the Scriptures, under the name of the *Eternal Gospel*, wrote an introduction, and exposed the book in the Place Notre Dame, as the *Roman de la Rose* records, that all who wished might read or copy it.²⁵

The rector of the University, the belligerent William de St. Amour, always on the lookout for ammunition against the Franciscans, called the attention of the pope to the book. A commission of cardinals examined it, and the introduction was condemned to be burned by Alexander IV, in 1255, with the express stipulation that no discredit be allowed to fall upon the Franciscans on its account. The failure to carry out the provisions of the bull led to the issue of another, ordering that the book be burned in the presence of the chancellor of the University and ten others. But the book continued to circulate, especially among the Spiritual Franciscans. The chronicler Salimbene has recorded how widely it was read and believed within the order, as well as outside, and how great was the disillusionment when the year 1260, the date set by Joachim for the new dispensation, passed without event of that sort. Indeed, by that year so wide was its circulation and so numerous the writings of his followers, that a Council at Arles condemned the *Eternal Gospel* itself, along with more recent writings in the same spirit. But the ideas persisted, and gave hope to many a small band of mystical enthusiasts. Gerard Segarelli of Parma founded a new order, the Apostolic Brethren, in the fateful year 1260, and after he had been burned with his writings in 1300 his work was carried on by the famous Fra Dolcino.²⁶

²⁵ Lea, *Inquisition*, III, pp. 20-22.

²⁶ *Chartularium*, ed. Denifle, I, pp. 331-333; *Chronica Senonsis*, in d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, Paris, 1661-1687, VI, p. 410; Lea, *Inquisition*, III,

The same Council which had condemned the *Introduction to the Eternal Gospel* to the flames gave over to the same fate, but with pomp and circumstance in this case, a book of William de St. Amour, entitled *De periculis novorum temporum*. A contemporary historian observes that it was condemned not on account of the heresies it contained, but because it was an attack upon the Franciscans. The pope commanded that all copies of the book be burned within eight days, and the author banished. It was burned before the cathedral at Anagni in the presence of a great assembly. But the cardinals retained a copy. Copies continued to circulate, and four years later Alexander IV wrote to the Bishop of Paris that he must collect all copies of satires circulated against the Franciscans and burn them publicly before the faculty and students of the University.²⁷ The Franciscans endeavored to prevent scandal arising from their own members by ordering a censorship within the order, but the Joachitic writings of Petro Olivi secured wide circulation. John XXII had Olivi's *Postilia* condemned in 1278, and his bones dug up and burned with his writings. Sixtus IV, a Franciscan himself, had the ban removed. The belief in the prophecies of Joachim was still current in the following century. A certain Bartholomew Janovensius wrote that the great change would come in 1360. His book was burned, and he consented to recant in 1363, the date being well past. The works of the Spanish physician, Arnold of Villanova, were condemned because of his defense of the Joachitic doctrine.²⁸

pp. 103-120; *Cronica fratris Salimbene de Adam*, ed. O. Holder-Egger, Hanover, 1905-1913; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptorum* XXXII, pp. 237, 293, 466; Matthew Paris, *Chronicon*, Rolls Series, London, 1872-1883, V, pp. 599-600.

²⁷ *Chartularium*, ed. Denifle, I, pp. 331-335; P. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant et l'averroïsme latin au xiii^e siècle*, Louvain, 1911, p. lxxii; *Chronicon Guillelmi de Nangis*, in d'Achery, *Spicilegium*, XI, p. 545; Le Nain de Tillemont, *Vie de St. Louis*, Paris, 1851, VI, p. 202.

²⁸ F. Tocco, *L'Eresia nel medio evo*, Florence, 1884, pp. 485-504; N. Eymeric, *Directorium inquisitorum*, Rome, 1578, P. 2, Quaest. 21, sec. 4; Zaccaria, *Storia polemica*, p. 86; Lea, *Inquisition*, III, pp. 52-57, 85.

The Franciscans entered only incidentally into the work of book cremation. With the placing of inquisitorial functions in the hands of the preaching friars came the organization which reduced the pursuit of heresy to a science. The burning by the common hangman of the works of heretics, or of the works of obdurate and relapsed heretics with their authors, need not detain us. The Dominicans did a large incidental business of suppression, and in this were aided by the universities, which were regarded as especially equipped for the detection and hunting down of dangerous books. Unfortunately for Jewish literature, the zeal of a renegade Jew directed the activities of the Holy Office into that field, and there began that systematic destruction of Jewish books whose story is well known. The Talmud was especially under suspicion, but the proscription was not limited to that work, whose importance is perhaps not great to any but the Jewish people. What is of general significance is that many of the Jewish writings were on scientific subjects. Just how far the progress of science was impeded in that way it is absolutely impossible to estimate.²⁹

Science was also attacked in another way. The burning of books of magic goes back to the earliest times. The incident at Ephesus sanctioned it for a Christian world, and the imperial edict of 409 put the matter especially under the supervision of the bishops. Lea has shown the apathy of the early Middle Ages in the matter, but the period of the activity of the Inquisition saw a recrudescence of zeal. In 1276 the Bishop of Paris, along with his famous dictum that a point might be "true in philosophy but not in theology," condemned certain books of magic and necromancy. In 1290 the Dominican inquisitor and the Bishops of Paris and Sens, with the Masters of the University, condemned books of divination and sortilege, specifying the most important ones. The book of the inquisitor Eymeric abounds in references to the books of

²⁹ For details, see W. Popper, *The Censorship of Hebrew Books*, New York, 1899.

magic which he found worthy of condemnation. John XXII was active both against Jewish books and books of magic. The narration of all the cases of condemnation of books on this score would need a volume to itself. The fact that practically any scientific investigation would fall within the forbidden field in those days is enough to suggest how such investigation must have been hampered and scientific progress delayed. Examples of individual cases are those of Peter of Abano, whose sufferings were said to have been brought about by the jealousy of a brother physician, and Cecco d'Ascoli, who was burned with his book *De Sphaera*. In spite of repeated condemnations of that treatise, however, it remained current.³⁰

It has been urged that the heresy for which Cecco was prosecuted was not scientific but political—the undermining of the basis of government and the virtual advocacy of anarchy.³¹ This would probably be the defense for the condemnation of the works of the little group of scholars who defended the cause of Louis of Bavaria against the papacy. The *Defensor Pacis* of Marsiglio of Padua and the works of William of Occam bear witness to their heavy debt to the earlier heretic, Erigena. Here again appears the claim to the right of reason to question authority, and the application of this principle to the temporal power of the Church might well seem to threaten the undermining of the foundations of government, to the princes of the Church. The book of a less known member of the circle, Nicholas de Ultricuria, who maintained that we can be sure of nothing, not even of our own existence, was condemned to be burned in 1348, and the author carried out the sentence himself.³²

³⁰ C. Du Plessis d'Argentré, *Collectio judicorum de novis erroribus*, Paris, 1728, Ia, pp. 175, 213, 260; Eymeric, *Directorium*, pp. 106-197, 225; J. Burckhardt, *Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*, London, 1914, II, p. 11.

³¹ J. J. Walsh, *The Popes and Science*, New York, 1908, p. 212. Cf. Reusch, *Der Index*, pp. 34-35.

³² H. Rashdall, "Nicholas de Ultricuria, a mediæval Hume," *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society*, n.s. VII, pp. 1-27.

The connection is clear between the *Defensor Pacis* and the next great opponent of the temporal power of the Church, Wycliffe. His works were ordered confiscated in England during the campaign against the Lollards in 1387, but they had long since spread to Bohemia, where they were popularized by Huss. The first great book bonfire of the fifteenth century was that in the courtyard of the archepiscopal palace of Prague, in 1410, where more than two hundred of the works of Wycliffe, surrendered as a result of the bull of Alexander V against Huss, were given to the flames. Two years later the Synod of Pisa condemned Wycliffe's works, and they were burned at Oxford. Another bonfire there, and a similar one in London, followed the sentence of the Council of Constance which doomed Huss to perish in the same flames that consumed his writings, and ordered the digging up of Wycliffe's bones.

Thus we come back to the bonfires with which we began our survey. The story is not at an end. Mediæval bonfires continued, and, one is tempted to say, still continue. But it is a story that repeats itself. Reginald Pecock, defending the orthodox clergy against the Lollards' contention that Scripture was the only authority in matters of religion, fell into the old error of defending reason, and reënacted the story of John Scotus Erigena. Like Berengar, he recanted and threw his own works into the flames. This was at St. Paul's Cross, and the University of Oxford, on being informed of the event, vindicated its rejection of the cause of reason, parading after the Chancellor to Carfax and burning all the copies of Pecock's works which could be found in college or town.³³

The century of Huss was the century of the discovery of printing, and with it came, not change in the policy towards books, but necessarily a change in method.

³³ R. Pecock, *Repressor of Overmuch Blaming the Clergie*, Rolls Series, London, 1860, I, pp. xlix, lii. For a delightful treatment of universities and book-burning, see G. L. Burr, "Anent Bonfires," in *Above Cayuga's Waters*, Ithaca, 1916, pp. 73-80.

Symbolic burnings, like Luther's burning of the papal bull, continued unchanged, and were defended by the reformer with the same arguments that served the Roman Catholic. But bonfires as a means of destruction could not be made big enough, or numerous enough, to wipe out editions of printed books, unless they could be seized while still in the press. So a new technique of suppression had to be devised, and the censor came to the assistance of the common hangman. In this sense, and this alone, the chapter of mediæval book-burning came to a close in the fifteenth century.

Certain lines of thought are suggested by even this brief survey. It is fairly obvious—and perfectly natural—that the zeal of the Church was especially directed towards the suppression of books which placed reason above authority. It is equally obvious that either the methods of the Church were too inefficient, or that the task was an impossible one, for the advocates of the view thus condemned were able to hand down their ideas in an unbroken line to modern times. Just how far the progress of science was delayed there seems to be no way of measuring. In the field of thought there are a few suggestive facts. It has been pointed out how Erigena in the ninth century formulated the *Cogito, ergo sum*, that was to make such a vast stir in the eighteenth. An English philosopher has shown how the ideas of Nicholas de Ulricuria, which were denied the chance of influencing his century, anticipated those of Berkeley and of Hume. The same scholar has suggested as an interesting result of suppression that Wycliffe, before the condemnation of his works, was one of the most famous men of his day for his contributions to philosophy, logic and metaphysics, yet although his works have survived their repeated condemnations and are fully available, the modern historians of philosophy give him no place in their pages.³⁴ Finally, what contributions to thought has the world lost, that it might have had from those men who, having cast the pre-

³⁴ Rashdall, "Nicholas de Ulricuria," p. 2.

cious firstfruits of their labors upon the fire, turned sadly to safer pursuits, and from others who, watching the conflagration, refrained from putting on paper thoughts that might be destined only to kindle other bonfires!

A MEDIÆVAL HUMANIST:
MICHAEL AKOMINATOS



BY IDA CARLETON THALLON

A MEDIÆVAL HUMANIST: MICHAEL AKOMINATOS

THE readiness of the human mind to accept as true a statement resting on no firmer basis than continued assertion, is one of its queer quirks. Of these popular misconceptions, one of the most striking is the idea that eastern and western Europe went their several ways during the Middle Ages and came into relationship only on a few rare occasions. Profound as were the fundamental differences between eastern and western ideals and civilization, incompatible as any union between them proved to be, we must at least realize that there was contact and that there was not the abysmal ignorance of each other which necessarily followed when the coming of the Turks blotted the Aegean from the map of Europe until the independence of Greece in the nineteenth century permitted a renewal of acquaintanceship.

The attempt to establish a firm bond between East and West may perhaps be regarded as a series of more or less magnificent failures, but it is at least worth noting that the attempt was made. The adventurous nobles who carved out kingdoms for themselves in Greece, who went back and forth to their ancestral homes in Burgundy or Flanders or Italy to spend the summer and to assist at the coronation of their new suzerains, who blithely introduced their western feudalism into an alien land, built their castles and held their tournaments, pass like bright figures on a screen before moving into the darkness from which they never return. Brief, brilliant, transitory, such was the political contact of East and West. And yet, despite the superficial division, there was a deeper connection, a tie that endured, a flame which was never entirely quenched. Athens and what she embodied could not be

utterly lost although she might lie buried deep beneath masses of ignorance or indifference, and the humanism which inspired the Renaissance still survived in some hearts in the eastern world.

Michael Akominatos, the archbishop of Athens at the coming of the crusaders in 1204, has left in his own writings a vivid picture of that time and forms a link not only with the classical past which he passionately loved but also with the "barbarians" of the West.

Akominatos, who is sometimes known as Choniates, was born about 1140¹ at Chonae in Phrygia, the Colossae familiar from the epistle of St. Paul. He and his younger brother Niketas, the historian, were educated at Constantinople² in an atmosphere of antiquarian learning and theological subtleties which imparted its characteristic quality to their works. Michael was an ardent lover of beauty and wisdom from childhood, and from his master Eustathios, who afterwards became archbishop of Thessalonica,³ he gained a sound classical education and a passionate enthusiasm for Homer. He entered upon a clerical career⁴ while Niketas went into the civil service where he later occupied a distinguished place as statesman and historian.

Just what induced Michael to accept the appointment as metropolitan of Athens and abandon the elegant luxuries of cultivated Constantinople for life in a provincial city regarded as the limit of civilization, or "an utter hole,"⁵ it is difficult to say, but he tells us of his friends' congratulations on his selection for so famous a place.⁶

¹ Lampros, *Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα*, Intro., p. ιε.

This book, which contains the text of Michael, is henceforth referred to by volume and page only, or as Lampros, *M. A.*; n. after a page number means Lampros's note *ad loc.*

² I, p. 347.

³ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., p. ις'.

⁴ I, p. 96, II, p. 450 n.; II, p. 67.

⁵ "Χῶρον μυχαίρατον," Niketas, *De Man. Com.*, I, cap. 3; Gregorovius, *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter*, I, p. 178, n. 3. "An utter hole," Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 6.

⁶ I, p. 97.

His inaugural address⁷ presents a vivid picture of the impression which the city of the violet crown made upon him at his arrival, presumably about 1175 or 1180.⁸ It is a strange mixture of distress at the low estate to which the great city and its people have fallen, with an appeal to their ancestral pride and glorious past and an ardent desire to inspire and serve his flock to the utmost extent of his ability. The relation between him and his people seems always to have been most cordial and friendly, he was warmly received with dances and processions in his honor⁹ and his earnest admonitions to virtue were tempered with practical efforts on behalf of the inhabitants of Attica against the cruel exactions of the greedy officials and by the introduction of many improvements in their condition. If he seems sometimes to give more good advice than was either necessary or desirable, we must remember that it was not only by words but by deeds that he helped his parishioners.

At this time the Greek lands were subject to the Byzantine emperor and had been divided for administrative purposes into themes or districts;¹⁰ that of Hellas (which included Athens and Thebes) was governed by a praetor whose exactions roused the ire of the worthy prelate, who says that the praetor is often more barbarous than the Thirty Tyrants or than Xerxes, for he asks not merely earth and water but the whole produce of the land, and the very leaves on the trees and the hairs of the heads of the Athenians are numbered. On some pretext he even enters the cathedral of the Divine Mother of God and

⁷ I, pp. 93-106. The Inaugural Address should be compared with Michael's first letter from Athens (II, pp. 11, 552 n.), written to his old friend, Michael Autoreianos, the later patriarch of Nicaea, with whom he continued to correspond for many years, and also with his address to Drimys (I, pp. 157-179).

⁸ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 211, n. 3, thinks it was 1175; Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθηναὶ ἐν τῷ τέλει τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος*, pp. 20 ff., thinks it was 1182, and he repeats this view in his later work, *M. A.*, Intro., p. ιγ.

⁹ I, p. 93.

¹⁰ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., p. κ'.

takes away the treasures deposited there or any things that he discovers.¹¹

Much power seems to have rested in the hands of these officials, and the taxes which they collected were frequently both unjust and exorbitant. In general the principle of making the office self-supporting was a bad one, and when a governor was dishonest or rapacious, there was little redress for the unfortunate inhabitants, for probably only a small proportion of the taxes found its way into the royal treasury or was used for its ostensible purpose; the swarm of petty officials "thicker than the plague of frogs in Egypt"¹² was intolerable. Unsafe conditions prevailed, and in spite of the excessive ship-money extracted from the Athenians piracy flourished openly and unchecked, so that a compatriot of Pericles could say that Athens's nearness to the sea was her ruin.¹³ The native tyrants, some of whom were brutal men like Léon Sgouros, with their constant civil wars and feuds, added to the horrors and confusion of existence.

No wonder that Michael says it would make you weep to see the city.¹⁴ But the sympathetic metropolitan did not confine himself to tears; with great energy he sent letters and memorials to the Emperor and other high officials, protesting against the heavy taxes, the unfair discrimination against the Athenians in their distribution, the tyranny and interference.¹⁵ It is impossible to discover how much exaggeration there may be in his bitter diatribes. Of course he would feel bound to make out a strong

¹¹ II, p. 103; I, p. 307; I, p. 177. Lampros says that Akominatos uses "*εὐρήματα*" in the technical sense of "finds," which may perhaps refer to the discovery of old coins or to excavation of ancient graves with *κοσμήματα πολύτιμα*. Investigations at the tombs of Spata and Menidi in Attica show that busybodies had been at them early; *M. A.*, II, p. 473 n.

¹² II, p. 105.

¹³ II, pp. 98-99, "*ὥς καὶ τὴν θάλατταν αὐτὴν, ἐξ ἧς εὐεργερίαν τινὰ πρότερον εἶχον Ἀθηναί, νῦν εἰς πανωλεθρίαν αὐτῶν περιστασθαι.*"

¹⁴ II, p. 421.

¹⁵ *E.g.*, Letters to Demetrios Tornikes, II, p. 66, p. 568 n.; to Theodore Irenikos, II, p. 103; to George Padyates, II, p. 105, p. 585 n.; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, pp. 260-261.

case with all the eloquence of his Byzantine rhetoric, but he seems to have been the sole champion of these wretched people against a system of the most iniquitous kind and one might reduce the figures and eliminate a few adjectives and still leave a distressing picture. There are not only protests but touching appeals to such men as Drimys or Stryphnos¹⁶ to come like Triptolemos as saviours and helpers to Athens, to succeed Themistocles and Conon as veritable founders of the city, or to excel the lawgivers Solon and Lycurgos, and the judges Minos and Rhadamanthos.¹⁷

Michael, the defender and protector of his flock, was appalled by the poverty and distress and the contrast with the great Athens of earlier times blessed and known to all. The revered name of the noble old city (as he says) is all that is left.¹⁸ The rivers have left the parks; the springs, the kitchen-gardens;¹⁹ the brook, Kallirhoe; the bees, Hymettus; the grass, the flocks. There is a brazen heaven and an iron earth; they live in drought in a parched land. Marathon with its old trophies and corn-bearing plain is now in famine, Eleusis as silent and secret as her Mysteries, all Attica is a waste of stones; the land is sunk in sleep like death. The living have no leisure to weep over the dying, but those departing lament for the living who suffer thus, if indeed there is any feeling amongst the dead! The city is empty not only of philosophers but of mechanics and smiths and workmen; only the women and children are left, starving and in rags; learning and wisdom have gone, the land is poor in body and poor in mind, the destitute inhabitants stray about like aimless and wandering birds, all is a Scythian wilderness.²⁰

Ecclesiastical affairs were in many respects no better

¹⁶ On Drimys, see Lampros, *M. A.*, II, p. 460 n.; on Stryphnos, *ibid.*, II, p. 530 n.

¹⁷ I, pp. 178, 317, 160.

¹⁸ II, p. 26; *cf.* I, p. 339, the name almost forgotten.

¹⁹ *Cf.* II, p. 376, green orchards beside the Ilissos.

²⁰ II, pp. 26-27; I, p. 176; II, pp. 11-12; I, p. 307. It is interesting to

than political; the church, which was divided into about a dozen metropolitan sees, included a number of men who were distinguished for their learning,—John the metropolitan of Salonica was an Athenian,²¹ Bardanes, who later became metropolitan of Corfu, was surnamed Atticus (perhaps because of the Attic eloquence learnt from Michael),²² Kosmas of Aegina, patriarch of Byzantium about 1146, was called “Attic”; but Niketas says he was exceptional,²³ and the other side of the picture shows that both the regular and secular clergy were often illiterate and wicked, worldly and grasping, and anything rather than spiritually-minded.²⁴ Efforts to reform these evils were an unceasing feature of Michael’s incumbency and he must now and then have felt cheered by the existence of pious and unselfish men of whom we learn from his writings.²⁵

Outside of the church, the intellectual level was very low; the archbishop frequently dwells upon the ignorance of his flock, their apathy and indifference towards their famous past, the poor Greek they spoke, the lack of any learning or education amongst them.²⁶ “I have become a barbarian, now that I am a resident of Athens,” he says,²⁷ and he tells Drimys that he runs the risk of turning into a rustic from dwelling in wise Athens, and that if he sits on the Acropolis rock and sings, he sings only to himself or to an echo.²⁸ The sense of loneliness is ever present; he misses the keen old Athenians always seeking for something new or kindled with enthusiasm for τοῦ λόγου, and begins a letter by saying that he writes from Athens, but that the letter is no more remarkable or wiser for

see here a reflection of Simonides: “Ὁνθρῶπε κείσαι ζῶν ἔτι μᾶλλον τῶν ὑπὸ γᾶς ἐκείνων,” Bergk, *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*, III, p. 416, fr. 60.

²¹ II, pp. 118, 591 n.

²² Miller, *Latins*, p. 19.

²³ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 227; Niketas, *De Man. Com.*, II, cap. 3.

²⁴ II, pp. 240, 417, 311.

²⁵ I, pp. 259-282, *Monody on the Archemandrite Neophytes*.

²⁶ I, pp. 4, 124; II, pp. 12, 44, 420 ff.

²⁷ II, p. 44, “Βεβαρβάρωμαι Χρόνιος ὧν ἐν Ἀθήναις.”

²⁸ I, pp. 158-159.

such a reason, indeed it will be good luck if it is not utterly countrified; and he likens himself to Jeremiah in Jerusalem besieged by the Babylonians.²⁹

Some excuse for this ignorance may be found in the deplorable poverty which was the lot of most of the population. The niggardliness of the soil,³⁰ the unsafe conditions, the overwhelming taxes, the decline of industry, the unsympathetic attitude of the few wealthy inhabitants, all these combine to furnish a depressing picture. The racial mixture of Greeks, Vlachs, Slavs, a few Jews and Italians,³¹ prevented any concerted action against this distressing tyranny, and the change from a Greek master to a Frankish one can have meant but little to the majority of the inhabitants. To Akominatos, perhaps the bitterest feature of the Frankish conquest was that he could no longer help his flock when in exile on the island of Keos, or guard them with his fatherly care.

On his arrival he took up his residence on the Acropolis,³² where he says he seems to reach the "peak of heaven"; his cathedral, the Parthenon, now the temple of the Virgin Mother of God, is to him a constant theme of delight and enthusiasm,³³ with its ever-burning lamp and its golden dove. For twenty-five or thirty years Michael was teacher, father, shepherd, pilot of his flock, conducting on their behalf a constant correspondence with the emperors and other officials at Constantinople and elsewhere, leaving no effort unmade for their betterment, warding off the attack of Sgouros,³⁴ keeping a watchful

²⁹ I, p. 93; I, p. 4, "προσεκκαίωντων τὴν τοῦ λόγου θερμότητα"; II, p. 11, "ἀγροικιώτερον."

³⁰ I, pp. 103-104. (Michael quotes the farmer's answer to Pisistratus, "ὀδύνας καὶ σφακέλους ἀποδρεπόμενος.")

³¹ Miller, *Latins*, pp. 3-6.

³² Lampros, *M. A.*, II, p. 553 n.

³³ I, p. 105; II, pp. 12, 103.

³⁴ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., pp. κγ'-κδ', cites Niketas, 800.10-803.18. Niketas expresses the greatest pride in his relationship to one who so nobly and bravely carried on the traditions of the ancient heroes. The deep affection and mutual admiration of the brothers was very strong; see the *Monody on Niketas*, I, pp. 343-367. On Sgouros, see II, pp. 162-187, pp. 610-613 n.

eye over praetors, reprimanding theft or dishonesty amongst the clergy, endeavoring to restore Athens to her former prosperity. But when Boniface of Monferrat and the crusaders were marching southward from Salonika to the Peloponnesus to secure the lands given them in the partition treaty after the capture of Constantinople and had established themselves in Thebes, the turn of Athens came next and the metropolitan knew it was useless to resist them.³⁵ With the coming of the Franks the direct tie between Akominatos and his people was severed, he had no alternative but to leave them to the tender mercies of the conquerors, and as far as we know the inhabitants were not much worse off than they had been before. To the mass of the people, the mild rule of Othon de la Roche was better than the tyranny of the Byzantine officials, and even when an archbishop of the Latin faith replaced Akominatos, little attempt at proselytizing was made. The transference of property from the Greek to the Latin church probably signified but little to the Athenians, who, according to Michael, always took their religion lightly and were infrequent attendants at church.³⁶ Akominatos laments bitterly how the Franks laid profane hands on the sacred vessels in which he, poor man, had taken so much pleasure. Ruthlessly they plundered, greedily they despoiled, seizing all the movable property and showing no respect for the cathedral either as a center of the orthodox church or as a great shrine of classical antiquity. This was the worst phase of the "Latin tyranny," and it was beneath the dignity of the archbishop to come to terms with those who could thus treat the property of God in

³⁵ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., p. κδ', cites Niketas, 805. Lampros states that it was impossible for Michael to defend the Acropolis against the Franks, in spite of what Niketas says. Niketas was sure Michael could have prevented its capture, "ἀλλὰ βλέπων καὶ πειθόμενος ὅτι δὲν ἦτο καιρὸς ἀντιστάσεως, ἀφ' οὗ ἤδη εἶχεν ἀλωθῇ ἡ βασιλεὺς τῶν πόλεων, ἡ δὲ δυτικὴ καὶ ἐφά μερὶς τῆς ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχῆς εἶχεν ὑποταχθῇ εἰς τὴν σκιὰν τοῦ λατινικοῦ δόρατος, ἀναιμωτὶ ὑπεξίσταται τοῦ ἐρύματος."

³⁶ I, p. 117.

their drunken violence and turn the city into a dwelling of demons and a dancing-place of ass-centaurs.³⁷

Michael is a true Hellene in his attitude towards the barbarians of the West whom he knows under the general name of Italians or Germans rather than Franks, which name he does not use at all. The Franks or Gauls he calls Germans, the Germans are known as Alamanni³⁸ and little distinction is made amongst them, as to either good or bad qualities. There are the piratical Lombards, the frowning beetle-browed Alamanni, the Goths and Germans who had fought against the empire in Justinian's day, the crusaders who are described by an ambiguous epithet which might be either brave or haughty, lordly or overweening; and a gift for orderliness in military and ecclesiastical affairs is credited to Kelts, Germans and Italians alike in antithesis to the Greeks, who now are almost crazy and make a muddle of their common expedition, a shocking contrast to their Homeric ancestors who showed their breeding and self-control by going silently into battle while the barbarian hordes shrieked wildly.³⁹ The Britons are thrice mentioned and always in Horatian fashion coupled with the Indians as dwellers in the extreme and uttermost parts of the earth,⁴⁰ and he knows Scythia and the inhospitable manslaying Tauric Chersonese with its cold weather and snow, the islands of Thule, and the Kimmerian darkness.⁴¹

The great ecclesiastic who had so honorably fulfilled the duties and responsibilities of his exalted position, who had taken such pride in his cathedral, who had so devotedly loved the people of his adoption, stood aside to see

³⁷ II, pp. 178-179; I, p. 264, II, p. 612 n., where it is stated that Akominatos hated the Greek tyrants more than the Italian; II, p. 270.

³⁸ I, p. 168, II, p. 468 n. According to Eustathios (280, 39) Philip Augustus is the German phylarch and Frederick Barbarossa leads the Alamanni.

³⁹ I, pp. 315, 323; II, p. 125; I, pp. 323 ("ἀγερῶχους"); 183.

⁴⁰ II, pp. 226, 303, 333.

⁴¹ I, p. 323; II, pp. 111, 214; II, p. 5; I, p. 321; II, pp. 144, 215; I, p. 321.

his throne occupied by Bérard, the Frenchman appointed by Innocent III, who boasted that the city of most famous Pallas had been humbled to become the seat of most glorious Mother of God.⁴² Just what Innocent thought had been the fate of the Parthenon for the last several hundred years is hard to see. That it had been dedicated to the Theotokos for some centuries was to him beside the point, for the only authentic Blessed Virgin Mary was she who was sanctioned by the Roman Church. Akominatos himself had rejoiced that the Parthenon had become a Christian church and had compared the Virgin Athena with the Virgin Mary much to the disadvantage of the former.⁴³ With all his fondness for the classics, he was thoroughly orthodox in his faith; but despite his intense and genuine piety, he seemed to have no difficulty in combining these two interests reasonably and harmoniously, with none of the hysterical struggles which sometimes wrecked the Italian of the Renaissance who felt that he must choose between the two. He is glad that the Athenians no longer worship an unknown god, but that God is known and great is his name.⁴⁴ Mythology and religion are the aspects of ancient Hellenism which he has seen disappear without a regret, and he expects his flock to surpass the virtues of Aristides or Pericles because they have truth instead of falsehood, light for darkness, reverence for God instead of fear of daemons.⁴⁵ He even goes so far as to suggest that the evils which have befallen Athens are a consequence of her wicked and godless ways, but the edifying examples which he holds up for his people to follow are chosen indiscriminately from the classics

⁴² Innocent III, Letter to Bérard, *Epistolae*, Bk. XI, lett. 256, *Opera omnia*, ed. Baluze, II, p. 266.

⁴³ She is ψευδοπαρθένου, I, p. 104; ἄσεμνον, II, p. 421; “Ἀθηνᾶ, παρ’ ἐκείνοις παρθευεῖν μυθευομένη, τικτεῖ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον,” I, p. 102; “Ἄφες ἔρρειν τὴν πάλαι σοι πολιοῦχον τὴν Παλλάδα καὶ Ἀγελεῖν, τὴν ἄσεμνον παρθένον τὴν ἐκραγεῖσαν ἐκ κεφαλῆς, Ἡφαιστείου πελεκέως κρούμασιν, ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ γεννῶντος καὶ τίκτοντος οὐκ ἐξ ὁσφύος, οὐδ’ ἐκ γαστροῦς, ἀλλ’ ἐκ μηροῦ τε καὶ μήνιγγος,” II, p. 421.

⁴⁴ I, p. 104.

⁴⁵ I, p. 103, “Ἐπέρκειται δὲ πάντως ὅσον ἀλήθεια ψεύδους καὶ φῶς σκότους καὶ θεοσέβεια δεισιδαιμονίας.”

and from the Bible so that Themistocles and Demosthenes are amicably coupled with David and Moses, while Hippolytus and Joseph are twin incentives to the virtuous life. The biblical references with which Michael's writings are packed cause no surprise; the great figures of the Old Testament and the New Testament walk through his pages with familiar ease, but there is comparatively little about fathers of the church or later saints. He is said to have defended the accepted tenets of the Greek Orthodox Church stoutly against the Roman clergy sent by Innocent III;⁴⁶ but the gulf was too wide to be bridged and however much the ambitious pope might organize ecclesiastical affairs in Greece to put them under the dominion of the apostolic see, the task of establishing any permanent unity or strong fabric was made almost impossible by the ambition of the crusaders, who did not hesitate to appropriate church lands for themselves, and by the many orders, monastic or military, who formed separate centers of power.⁴⁷ Innocent sent as envoys bearing books with Latin ritual and doctrine, Cardinal St. Suzanne and Nicholas of Otranto, a Greek cleric who acted as interpreter, and he invited the French clergy to supply books and teachers to Greece. He could scarcely treat the learned prelates of the Greek Church as he treated infidels, but adopted a policy of conciliation⁴⁸ and in some cases allowed the clergy who submitted, to retain their sees.⁴⁹ But the Blessed Virgin of the West can never have been at home in the house of the Panagia and with the fall of the Latin empire at Constantinople, the appointment of archbishops of the orthodox faith was resumed, although the absentee metropolitans of Athens

⁴⁶ Luchaire, *Innocent III*, IV, pp. 167-168.

⁴⁷ Miller, *Latins*, pp. 63-65, 69-71; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, pp. 339-340.

⁴⁸ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 339; Luchaire, *Innocent III*, IV, pp. 246-247.

⁴⁹ Miller, *Latins*, p. 71; Innocent III, *Epistolae*, XI, lett. 179; privileges of Athenian church, *ibid.*, XI, lett. 256; under protection of St. Peter, *ibid.*, XI, lett. 238; Luchaire, *Innocent III*, IV, pp. 167-168.

exercised their functions from the capital city through representatives for two hundred years.⁵⁰

The archbishop withdrew and after wandering about for a year or so⁵¹ settled down in the island of Keos whence he could look back with longing eyes to that city which had grown so dear to him. He passed the rest of his days on the island, his old age saddened by the death of his friends and particularly by that of his brother. His few books and his correspondence were his only solace.

Although Keos was not Athens, which he now regarded as another Eden, he became deeply attached to the people amongst whom he settled and whom he depicts as wise, excellent, lovers of freedom but not of the bloody work of Ares, water-drinkers and barley-eaters like the Arcadians in their simple life of mountaineers.⁵² When the Italian whirlwind suddenly fell upon him, he was driven, he says, onto loud-roaring cliffs and a sea-girt rock or a ravine at the foot of the mountains, and he dwells on an islet on the other side of the straits from Attica. There he lived for a dozen years or more, celebrating in his long poem, *Theano*, the four cities of Keos and their famous men,⁵³ reading, writing, studying as old age crept on, regretting the helplessness of his enforced leisure, like a bird which sees its young becoming a banquet for a serpent and can only fly around and lament piteously.⁵⁴ Again he says he flies about with much longing, but flutters like a bird weak with age entangled in a snare, vainly trying to escape and fly home.⁵⁵ He feels that he can no longer live under the Italian gloom and ill-will, and he dares not venture more than once across to Athens lest he become a morsel for the teeth of the Italians.⁵⁶ Illness, too, came upon him—"I am half-dead, what the doctors

⁵⁰ Miller, *Latins*, p. 71.

⁵¹ II, p. 312.

⁵² II, p. 259, "ὡς 'Εδέμ ἀλλης"; II, pp. 387-388.

⁵³ I, p. 358; II, pp. 326, 327, 646 n.; II, pp. 375-390.

⁵⁴ II, p. 327.

⁵⁵ II, p. 153.

⁵⁶ II, p. 337, "ὑπὸ ζόφον καὶ κότον ἰταλικόν"; II, pp. 327, 647 n.

call half dried-up," and with a simple naïve plea he asks for a *θηριακὴν* and the skin of a white rabbit—the kind that Russia sends to the great city—to keep him warm.⁵⁷

At last his failing strength succumbed and he died about 1220 in the monastery of St. John the Baptist.⁵⁸ Unfortunately this building has disappeared and we do not know the site of the grave of this last of the great Athenian patriots, but its church became a school⁵⁹ and there is at least something appropriate in the idea that the spirit of Michael Akominatos hovers about the spot where learning is still cherished.

Such, then, was the life of the great metropolitan who stands out against a somber background as the most notable figure of his time, carrying on the tradition of the city's greatness but utterly incomprehensible to the invaders from the western world.

To the bold but ignorant crusaders the sordid, illiterate, poverty-stricken land of Attica, sunk in want and staggering under a load of oppression, must have seemed but a poor prize for their adventurous deeds. For men like these the outward aspect was all and the inner significance was nothing. But for others the fame of Athens had by no means died out in the Middle Ages. Echoes of her great past reached the western world and drew students from other remote places. Tradition even made visitors from Georgia flock to Athens, but its authenticity has been called in question, particularly as the Armenian historian, Wardan, says nothing of the story that the Georgian poet, Routsaveli, and some of his companions spent

⁵⁷ II, p. 355, "Ἡμῖν γὰρ γέγονα, ὅπερ οἱ ἰατροὶ ἡμῶν φασί"; II, pp. 355, 356, 654 n. (which notes the importance of trade between Russia and Byzantium. See also II, p. 641 n.).

⁵⁸ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., p. κζ' and n. 1, which refers to Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθήναι*, p. 108, n. 2.

⁵⁹ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., pp. κέ-κς'; A. Meliarakes, *Ἱστορία καὶ περιγραφὴ τῶν Κυκλάδων νήσων κατὰ μέρος*, "Ἀνδρος. Κέως, p. 225.

On Keos see Bronsted, *Voyages et recherches dans la Grèce*, Paris, 1826, "De l'île de Céos"; Bent, *The Cyclades*, ch. XVIII. On p. 451 he recalls that Michael lived at the Chora of Keos with its fine view.

several years there; or that David II of Georgia, who had a Greek wife, founded a monastery on a mountain near Athens where he sent twenty students every year.⁶⁰ The tale may have arisen through confusion between Athens and Athos, which we know to have been a flourishing monastery in the tenth century, and where the "Monastery of the Iberians" still preserves the monks' name.⁶¹

More to our purpose are the tales of English visitors, and of Greek visitors in England. According to Matthew Paris, John of Basingstoke, archdeacon of Leicester, had made a most profitable visit to Athens, where he had seen and heard from learned Greek doctors things unknown to the Latins; he brought back with him the testaments of the twelve patriarchs (which were translated into Latin by Nicholas of St. Albans), several Greek books, including a grammar, and he also introduced the Greek numerals into England.⁶² But still more remarkable is his account of a certain Constantina, daughter of the archbishop of Athens, not yet twenty years of age, endowed with all the virtues and mistress of all the difficulties of the trivium and quadrivium, who had been his teacher and from whom he had acquired everything of value in his scientific knowledge. According to her pupil, she could foretell pestilences, thunderstorms, eclipses and earthquakes.⁶³ There are one or two difficulties about accepting this pleasing story even if we make allowances for some exaggerations about Constantina's prophetic powers. The archbishop of Athens can only have been Michael Akominatos, who expressly says he had no children,⁶⁴ and who, as Mr. Miller suggests, would have mentioned an adopted daughter so completely after her father's heart.⁶⁵ Lampros and most other authorities deny the trust-

⁶⁰ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, pp. 227-231; Rodd, *The Princes of Achaia*, I, pp. 145-146.

⁶¹ Miller, *Latins*, p. 21 and n. 2.

⁶² Matthew Paris, *Chron. Maj.*, V, p. 285.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 286-287.

⁶⁴ II, p. 244.

⁶⁵ Miller, *Latins*, p. 20.

worthiness of the story, although Hopf defends it.⁶⁶ There is, of course, no intrinsic impossibility in the existence of such a learned lady at that time; we have only to recall Anna Comnena, the "Byzantine blue-stocking"; the accomplished Empress Irene, famous for her Homeric scholarship; or the daughter of the chancellor of Thessalonica who lived in the fourteenth century and was known as a second Theano or Hypatia.⁶⁷

More extraordinary is the fact that John makes no mention of Michael himself. Even if the unusual and romantic interest of Constantina made a stronger appeal to the English student than the learned Michael Akominatos, the latter must surely have been the dominant figure in the intellectual life of his day. We have no positive evidence for the date of John's visit and I am inclined to believe that it took place after the Frankish conquest and that the fair Constantina was a real person about whose ancestry Matthew Paris was at fault. Traditions of the learning of Akominatos doubtless continued in Athens and pointed to him as the most probable parent for such a paragon of wisdom. Mere trifles of accuracy of detail were of no consequence to Matthew Paris, who often exaggerates and believes in fabulous authorities. A man who can say that an Armenian archbishop of the thirteenth century told the monks of St. Albans that he knew one of Pilate's doorkeepers⁶⁸ need not be a deliberate liar when he fathers Constantina on Michael. Leland thinks that whether the story of Constantina is true or not, John was in Athens and, as Matthew Paris says, brought back many Greek books with him (whoever brought the books, there they are), and that few students from England appear to have made the journey. Godfrey Monensis says that King Bladud was a student there and Platina mentions Pope

⁶⁶ Lampros, *M. A.*, Intro., pp. κή-κθ'; Hopf, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, I, p. 177; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 234.

⁶⁷ Miller, "A Byzantine Blue-Stocking: Anna Comnena," pp. 62-81; Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, p. 19; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 233; Nicephorus Gregoras, VIII, 3, p. 293.

⁶⁸ *Chron. Maj.*, III, pp. 161 ff.; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 235 and n. 1.

Joan.⁶⁹ Even if, as everyone now believes, she was a fraud, the very tradition that she was made pope because of her learning and therefore must have studied in Athens, shows the spell still exercised over the imagination by the ancient mother of wisdom.⁷⁰

But before passing on to the fame of Athens, we must see what is said about Greek visitors to England. Matthew Paris tells us of certain venerable Greek philosophers (*i.e.*, monks) who came from Athens in the third or fourth year of the reign of King John with the desire of rescuing from imminent danger those Latin Christians who had strayed from the path of true faith and of rendering a service useful to the whole church and to John's kingdom. But when the King heard the details, moved by the Holy Spirit as they say (the chronicle really does say this, probably the first and last time that John was ever inspired by such a source), he answered that their faith in the great miracles of the church was very strong and that he wished no weakening discussions, nor (says he cannily) to exchange certain for uncertain, "For soon they might shake many still firm in the faith out of their state of certainty by their ambiguous and untrustworthy deceptions and convince them of some novelty in which moderns delight. Let them therefore depart at once and be neither seen nor heard any more in my land." And so, in silence, they withdrew in confusion.⁷¹ This, says Matthew Paris, should redound to his immortal praise throughout the centuries.⁷²

It has been rather fully quoted to show how propaganda for a unified church and a desire to win over heretical and schismatic Christians were characteristic of Greek and Latin churches alike. It is precisely the time when Innocent III was establishing the Roman organization in

⁶⁹ Leland, *Comment. de Script. Britann.*, I, p. 266; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 234.

⁷⁰ For Joan, see the thirteenth-century *Flores Tempor.*, *Mon. Germ.*, XXIV, p. 243; von Döllinger, *Fables Respecting the Popes*.

⁷¹ *Hist. Angl. (Min.)*, III, 64.

⁷² *Ibid.*, II, p. 194 (for the year 1216).

Greece and attempting to convert its inhabitants to the Latin faith.

The fame of Athens lingered through the Middle Ages not only in tales about visitors, either fabulous like Pope Joan, or unidentified like a certain Dr. John Aegidius, who may have been confused with an Aegidius said to have studied there in the seventh century,⁷³ or unauthenticated like Scotus Erigena who was reputed to know more Greek than anyone in Europe,⁷⁴ but also in phrases used by many writers referring to Athenian greatness. There is scarcely a century in the so-called Dark Ages in which there is no reference to the fame that Athens had once enjoyed. After the closing of the universities, the direct connection was broken but the revival of learning under Charlemagne was believed to continue the old learning of Athens. "In the year 830, the studium of the Romans which had previously existed at Athens was transferred to Paris," says the *Chronicon Tielense*, and an anonymous writer quoted in Vincent of Beauvais adds that it was done by Alcuin.⁷⁵ John, the Deacon, calls Greek "facundissima virgo Cecropia."⁷⁶ In the tenth century the Panegyrist of Berengar commemorates Athens in some barbarous verses, the Saxon Chronicle says sons were sent to Athens "where the best schools were," the knights of mediæval romances like *Amadis of Gaul* or the

⁷³ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 231; Miller, *Latins*, p. 20.

⁷⁴ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 235. It does not necessarily follow that his Greek was acquired in Athens; it was supposed to have been learnt in Ireland.

⁷⁵ Döllinger, *Fables Respecting the Popes*, pp. 66-67. *Ibid.*, p. 66, n. 1, quotes "Anno Domini 830, Romanum studium quod prius Athenis exstitit, est translatum Parisios," *Chronicon Tielense*, ed. van Lecuwen, 1789, p. 37. "Alcuinus studium de Roma Parisios transtulit, quod illuc a Graecia translatum fuerat a Romanis," anon. writer *ap.* Vincent of Beauvais. Döllinger says (pp. 65-66) that no one for a thousand years had come from the West to Athens to study, for the best of reasons, that there was nothing more to be had there; but that before the rise of the University of Paris, Athens was regarded as the seat of learning. In the light of other evidence, it seems hardly necessary to extend the author's scepticism about Pope Joan to the condition of Athens.

⁷⁶ Joh. Diacon., II, cap. 14, quoted in Gregorovius, I, p. 236.

Alexander romances studied in Athens⁷⁷ (which was considered the only fit birthplace for Aristotle).⁷⁸ In the middle of the tenth century, the *Chronicon Ratisbon* says, "Floreat ergo Athene, fandi et eloquentiae nutrix, philosophorum genetrix,"⁷⁹ but the rarest bit of all comes from Godfrey of Viterbo, who, in a delightful genealogy, says the Romans and Germans are two branches of the Trojans, themselves descended from Jupiter, King of Athens, who was born there and also built the city and called it Minerva and a fortress of wisdom. Philosophers got their learning, including the trivium and quadrivium, from Jupiter. Niobe, his first wife, ruled at Athens and wrote the first book of laws; while Juno, the second wife, was mother of Danaus, whence the Danaoi or Greeks. Then came written law from Athens to Rome. In short, all arts and knowledge go back to Jupiter and Athens.⁸⁰ In spite of this hopeless muddle, there is more than a grain of truth in it.

Amongst English writers, William of Malmesbury pays the highest compliment to the learned bishop, Ralph of Rochester, by saying "totas hausit Athenas,"⁸¹ while Matthew Paris says that Greeks studied wisdom in Athens and as wisdom is immortal so has the name of Athens lasted. It must be confessed that Matthew's enthusiasm runs far ahead of his scholarship for he derives Athens from *A* negative and *θάνατος*,⁸² but he was no worse than his contemporary Gervasius of Tilbury for whom Academy was *ἄχος δῆμον*.⁸³ By that time the crusaders had settled in Greece and after their arrival there were many ways of spreading the Greek learning

⁷⁷ *Mon. Germ.*, IV, 209; *ibid.*, II, 43; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 236.

⁷⁸ "Qu'el mont n'a sapience, qui la ne fust trouvée." *Li Romans d'Alexandre par Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay*, publié par Michelant, p. 46; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 238.

⁷⁹ *Mon. Germ.*, XI, 351; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 237.

⁸⁰ Godfrey of Viterbo, *Speculum rerum*, *Mon. Germ.*, XXII, 38 ff., ed. Waitz; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 237.

⁸¹ *Mon. de Gestis*, p. 126.

⁸² *Chron. Maj.*, V, p. 286.

⁸³ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 238.

and language. Doubtless the majority confined themselves to the Romaic, but the monks and some of the educated people of the West began to interest themselves in classical literature and passed by an easy transition to the Renaissance, where Boccaccio and Dante revived the glories of the past, so that Theseus, Duke of Athens, figures in their pages as well as Shakespeare's.⁸⁴

The ruin in Athens in Michael's day was appalling, and many of the famous buildings had been destroyed. The walls had collapsed or disappeared, the houses had gone to pieces or their sites were under cultivation; the destruction, says Michael, is as thorough as the Macedonian destruction of Thebes and the great city has become a desert wilderness. He could, indeed, say, "I live in Athens, but I see Athens nowhere."⁸⁵ The elegant classical student steeped in the literature and history of the city looked in vain for many of the monuments which must have been like household words to him. The Courts, the Lyceum, the Peripatos—all were gone and sheep were grazing amongst the ruins of the Painted Colonnade.⁸⁶ And yet, we know that there was standing the so-called Theseum which had become the Christian church of St. George and the choregic monument of Lysicrates already called the Lantern of Demosthenes by Akominatos.⁸⁷ By this time its real name must have been forgotten, for otherwise he would never have used anything but the classical form, since one of the things he particularly disliked was the substitution of modern nomenclature for

⁸⁴ The Arabs too kept alive the fame of Athens and translated philosophical and medical works of the Greeks. The geographer Istahri who lived in the tenth century says that Rome and Athens are the foci of Rûm (*i.e.*, Italians and Byzantines) and that Athens was the center of wisdom of Jûnan (Ionians?), (*i.e.*, the old Greeks). Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 239 and n. 2 for bibliography.

⁸⁵ I, p. 159; II, p. 398, "Οἱκῶν Ἀθήνας οὐκ Ἀθήνας ποὺ βλέπω."

⁸⁶ I, p. 160; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 240, says that at any rate the Athenians had not sunk so low as to turn their classical names into "cow-field" or "goat-mountain," as the Romans had done for the forum and the Capitoline Hill.

⁸⁷ I, 98, II, pp. 450-451 n.

the old, with its splendid associations. But Michael's interest centered chiefly about the rock of the Acropolis and its neighbor, the Areopagus, whose association with Saint Paul he recalls.⁸⁸

The Acropolis had for centuries been the fortress of Athens beginning back as early as Pelasgian times, but we do not know whether some of the inhabitants resided on it as they did in Turkish days, or whether they flocked there only in case of danger, as in the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. It had suffered many vicissitudes. Apparently spared by Alaric, it had been systematically despoiled in the time of Theodosius II when the pagan shrines were closed or converted into churches. Probably it was at this time that the Phidian chryselephantine statue of the Athena Parthenos was destroyed, for there is no mention of anyone having seen it after 430.⁸⁹ The temple of Niké Apteros had become a chapel, the Erechtheum was a church and perhaps also contained priests' dwellings, and the Propylaea seems to have served as the palace of the archbishop, who is known to have resided on the Acropolis.⁹⁰ Often Akominatos says that he seems to be dwelling on the topmost point of heaven and to be supremely happy on that blessed spot. A confused legend of the Middle Ages tells that Jason founded the Propylaea in honor of the Virgin Mary, but the reference to the ever-burning lamp suggests that the writer was thinking of the Parthenon.⁹¹

In consequence of the general changes on the Acropolis, the Parthenon had been converted into a church and dedicated to the Mother of God,⁹² but there seems no good authority for the tradition that the temple of the divinely

⁸⁸ II, pp. 421-422.

⁸⁹ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 43; D'Ooge, *The Acropolis of Athens*, pp. 305-306.

⁹⁰ D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, pp. 310-311; Miller, *Latins*, p. 17.

⁹¹ "Divinum lumen atque inextinguibile in templo quod Propilie olim a Jasone rege Dei genetrici semperque virgini Marie conditum," from *Liber Guidonis*, in Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 214, n. 2.

⁹² Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 46; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 94.

wise Athena had been dedicated to the Divine Wisdom;⁹³ the truth probably is that Justinian adorned the Church of the Divine Wisdom (St. Sophia) in Constantinople with ancient columns from Athens, though not from the Parthenon.⁹⁴ The structural changes involved in the conversion of the building were slight; the entrance was made at the west, an apse was constructed at the east end, galleries were added.⁹⁵ According to inscriptions on the columns of the west portico the great church of Athens was dedicated to the Theotokos.⁹⁶ The loathsome habit of carving names on pillars has at any rate furnished us with the names and dates of the immediate predecessors of Akominatos,⁹⁷ the only evidence about the history of the church since the visit of Basil II early in the eleventh century, when he gave thanks to the Panagia for his victories over the Bulgarians and bestowed many choice offerings upon the church out of his booty.⁹⁸ There was the golden dove representing the Holy Ghost which hovered with perpetual motion over the altar, and the

⁹³ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, pp. 94-95, and notes 1 and 2; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 45-46, does not believe the tradition rests on a sound basis, although it appears to have been current in Athens. In note 166 he says that according to Pittakis (*Anc. Athens*, p. 387) on the south wall of the temple before the Greek War of Independence, was an inscription reading, "χλ' μετὰ τὸ σωτήριον ἔτος ἐγκαινάσθη ὁ ναὸς οὗτος τῆς ἁγίας Σοφίας," but that Babin [the Jesuit father who, in 1674, published *Relation de l'état présent de la ville d'Athènes*] knows nothing of the inscription, although he repeats the current statement that the Eternal Wisdom was the occupant of the church, a tradition which evidently goes back to the Capuchins (see Laborde, *Athen*, I, p. 78). Spon and Wheler showed that the inscription was false (Michaelis, p. 56, n. 227), while Bursian, *Rhein. Mus. f. Phil., neue Folge*, X, 1856, p. 478, also denies the authenticity of the inscription on epigraphical and linguistic grounds and quotes Ross, who published the Anonymous Vienneis which says (§ 11) that the Parthenon was dedicated to the Theotokos and not to Divine Wisdom. A. Mommsen (*Athenae Christianae*, p. 33) has shown that there is no evidence for the theory. See Miller, *Latins*, p. 7, n. 2.

⁹⁴ Codinus, *De S. Sophia*, ed. Bonn, p. 132; κίονας. . . καὶ ἀπὸ Ἀθηναίων οἱ ἀρχόντες βασιλέως ἐπεμبون, in Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 60, n. 2.

⁹⁵ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 46-47 (with plan).

⁹⁶ D'Ooge, *Acropolis*, p. 310.

⁹⁷ Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθήναι*, p. 20 and n. 5 (graffiti in Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., φύλλ. 43, ἀριθ. 2914-2993).

⁹⁸ Cedrenus, II, 475.

always-burning lamp of oil which never failed and which, according to Michael, streamed out like the sun, a light untiring, undimmed by day and unchecked by night, untended, immaterial, pure and ever-visible, the Lord's pillar of fire and cloud.⁹⁹ Possibly this rhetorical enthusiasm must be taken in a symbolic rather than literal sense, but visitors flocked from far and near to the great cathedral with its famous lamp.¹⁰⁰ Under the shelter of the Acropolis, in a tiny chapel above the theatre of Dionysos, a small perpetually burning lamp carries on the tradition. It is no wonder that the archbishop took pride in his cathedral. This perfect expression of ancient architecture had been richly adorned by its new owners and the interior decorated with lavish care. The walls and apse had been covered with paintings and mosaics of the Virgin and Saints, some of them dating from the time of Basil II, and now almost undecipherable. The paintings are of two styles. Those on the right wall as one enters from the opisthodomos are older and poorly preserved, those on the left and north walls are much better and, according to Lampros, the faces may confidently be compared with the best work of the Italians.¹⁰¹

In the upper part of the apse was a mosaic of the Mother of God, a "most beautiful wall,"¹⁰² left by the Turks because of the story that one who shot a musket at it had his hand withered. Through incomparable stupidity the walls were whitewashed so that later travelers did not see the pictures.¹⁰³ A few small squares of gilt and

⁹⁹ I, p. 325; II, p. 531 n.; Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 53; "In qua est oleum in lampade, semper ardens, sed numquam deficiens," Pilgrim Saeuwulf (who went in 1102-1103 to Jerusalem), *Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires*, IV, p. 834; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 214; *M. A.*, II, p. 27; I, p. 104.

¹⁰⁰ I, p. 148; II, p. 458 n.

¹⁰¹ Lampros, *Al 'Aθῆναι*, p. 40; Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, pp. 164-165. For illustrations of these frescoes see N. H. J. Westlake, "On some Ancient Paintings in Churches of Athens," *Archaeologia*, LI, pt. 1 (1888), pp. 173-188, pls. V and VI, and fig. 1, p. 176.

¹⁰² Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 48, n. 177; quotes Wiener Anonymus, *Anh.* III, 2: "ροῖχος ὑπαύρατος."

¹⁰³ Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, II, pp. 92, 91.

colored glass presented to the British Museum by Burgon¹⁰⁴ furnish little information for the restoration of the picture which probably represented Atheniotissa, the Virgin of Athens, with the Child as represented on the seals of bishops and Byzantine functionaries. The older type was Blacherniotissa (the bust of the Virgin, *en face*, with the medallion of Christ on her breast between $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\Upsilon}$), which after Basil's visit was replaced by the Panagia Atheniotissa with pearl wreath on her head, the Child on her left hand, and the right hand laid on her breast.¹⁰⁵ By a great piece of good fortune, there is still extant the seal of Michael Akominatos, having on one side his name and on the other the Panagia Atheniotissa,¹⁰⁶ possibly a reproduction of the mosaic, though the type is the common one and is found in many places besides Athens. Michael frequently speaks of the wonderful light in the Parthenon, which was evidently not as dim and religious as in Periclean days, for the light penetrated through two windows¹⁰⁷ closed by thin plates of Cappadocian marble which gave a rosy glow.¹⁰⁸ Over the altar was a canopy with four porphyry columns¹⁰⁹ and in the middle of the building on the left side a tribune raised on little marble columns was doubtless the chair of the preacher.

In the débris of the apse there was found in 1835 the bishop's throne which had stood at the back of the choir.¹¹⁰ Ross¹¹¹ describes it as made of white marble decorated on the back in low relief with a winged figure terminating in

¹⁰⁴ Vaux, *Handbook to the British Museum*, p. 435; for mosaics see Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 47-48 and n. 176.

¹⁰⁵ Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 164. For types of the Panagia see Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, pp. 34-41 (especially p. 36, n. 1); Schlumberger, "Scéaux Byz. Inédits."

¹⁰⁶ Lampros, *Αἱ Ἀθῆναι*, pl. II; *M. A.*, II, p. 452 (with illustration) Obv. The Panagia Atheniotissa, $\overline{\text{MP}}$ $\overline{\Theta\Upsilon}$ H AΘHNIO; Rev. ✠ MHTHP $\overline{\Theta[V]}$ BOHΘEI MOI TΩ CΩ ΔΘΛΩ MIXAHA TΩ $\overline{\text{MP}}$ POΠOΛITH AΘHNΩN:

¹⁰⁷ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, pp. 47-48 and n. 176.

¹⁰⁸ Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, II, p. 90.

¹⁰⁹ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 47 and n. 171.

¹¹⁰ Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, II, p. 90.

¹¹¹ Ross, *Arch. Aufs.*, I, p. 113.

arabesques instead of feet, which wind up on both sides of the seat. Unfortunately it has not been possible to find a satisfactory description of the throne or its fate. The illustration shows that besides having reliefs on the back, the throne was carved at the sides into winged and bearded goats whose hind parts terminated in a spiral-and-acanthus pattern and whose head and horns formed the arms of the throne while their forelegs made the side of the seat. A throne from St. Peter in Vinculis with similar figures on the back resembles the familiar chairs from the theatre of Dionysus with square seat and lion's claws for feet, while the Athenian throne looks as if its back was curved.¹¹² It is tempting to consider it Michael's and there seems no reason why it should not be. Near the altar were four chests or presses which closed with marble slabs for doors, two of which were open while the two on the other side were left untouched because the Turks who thought they contained treasure believed that whoever looked would be blinded or die.¹¹³ According to Spon and Wheler the French ambassador would have had them opened if the Turks had permitted it. When at last some bold person looked, only books were found inside. Later scholars have suggested that they contained Michael Akominatos's library.¹¹⁴ This hardly seems likely, for Michael would doubtless prefer to have his library in his own residence and the cupboards would be convenient for vestments, plate for the altar, or books for the church services.¹¹⁵

Such, then, was the appearance of the transformed

¹¹² Poppe, *Sammlung von Ornamenten*, pl. VIII, 3a, 3b (from Athens); *ibid.*, fig. 4 (from Rome). Since this was written, a visit to Athens has enabled me to identify this throne with one now in a shed opposite the entrance to the Acropolis museum. See Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 278-280, no. 1366, for description and bibliography.

¹¹³ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 47 and n. 172; Laborde, *Athènes*, I, p. 108.

¹¹⁴ Spon and Wheler, *Voyage*, II, p. 91.

¹¹⁵ Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, p. 47, says that there were books in the chests, but he does not say that they were Michael's. On the subject of Akominatos's library, see Lampros, *Ἀθηναῖον*, VI, pp. 354-363.

Parthenon which her archbishop loved with such devotion. About it centered the religious life of the city, in it he delivered his addresses to praetors or other visitors who had undergone the discomforts and dangers of travel to a provincial spot for the sake of worshiping in this famous shrine.¹¹⁶ He tells Stryphnos to enter the dwelling of the Virgin full of wonders, to carry a torch and dance like the Mystae, for all within is great as in the ancient mysteries, the holy light, the divine spirit in the form of a golden dove.¹¹⁷ The classical parallels in which Michael delighted must have passed over the heads of most of his hearers and he laments the fact that they come but seldom to the sanctuary and even then pay little attention but talk instead.¹¹⁸

Yet we have already seen how dear his erring sheep were to him and how he helped them in many practical ways, and that their lack of appreciation could in no way dim his own enthusiasm for Athens with her beautiful buildings and noble associations; once he says he seems to be sitting amidst the music of birds, swans, nightingales and other sweet singers and is almost happy enough to dance as Alexander danced the Pyrrhic to the music of Timotheos's flutes.¹¹⁹ It is no wonder that he could not endure seeing his beloved minster plundered by the irreverent Franks and so made a virtue of a necessity by going into dignified exile.

After the rapacious onslaught of the soldiers had spent itself,—and it cannot have approached the destruction

¹¹⁶ II, p. 538 n.

¹¹⁷ I, p. 325.

¹¹⁸ "μὴ κατατρίβειν τὸν καιρὸν τῆς εὐχῆς εἰς ἀκαίρους ὀμιλίας καὶ περιττὰς καὶ τοὺς μὲν πόδας πατοῦντας ἔχων τῆς ἐκκλησίας τὸ ἔδαφος, τὴν δὲ διάνοιαν εἰς μερίμνας ἀπολανᾶν ἀνοήτους βιωτικὰς," I, p. 195.

"Πάλιν οὖν ὑμᾶς παρακαλῶ φυλάξαι τὴν ἐντολὴν ταύτην καὶ τὰς ἀκαίρους ὀμιλίας καὶ βιωτικὰς διαλέξεις οἷον τινὰς πόρναις ἀκαθάρτοις καὶ βδελυρὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκδιώκειν μακρὰν καὶ πρὸς τὸν ὕψιστον μόνον θεὸν τὸν νοῦν ἀποτείνειν καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιθυμίας καὶ πόθου ἐξέχεσθαι καὶ μετὰ κατανύξεως τὴν τῶν ἐπταισμένων συγχώρησιν ἐξαιτεῖν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἀσφάλειαν καὶ τὸ διὰ μετανοίας καὶ καθαρᾶς ἐξομολογήσεως τοῦ προσκαίρου βίου ἐκδημῆσαι ἐξ ὅλης παρακαλεῖν τῆς ψυχῆς," I, p. 196.

¹¹⁹ II, p. 223.

and looting of Constantinople described through a strange coincidence by Michael's own brother Niketas,¹²⁰ who shared his philhellenic enthusiasm,—matters settled down, the Roman clergy turned the cathedral to their own uses while the Acropolis became the residence of Latin archbishops.¹²¹ The church seems to have suffered little damage beyond the removal of objects of precious metal which could be melted down and of Michael's books which were literally Greek to the barbarians of the West.¹²² The Propylaea continued to be a fortress, but as the seat of government was generally at Thebes rather than Athens, the material changes were probably not very important, for a time at least, as the family of La Roche seem not to have been great builders and left no massive fortresses like those erected by the princes of Achaia.¹²³ The reconstruction into a palace by walling it up between the columns and making four rooms, was probably due to the Florentines who adopted it as their official residence, and they are supposed to have erected the great Frankish tower¹²⁴ which stood for so many centuries as a conspicuous landmark and whose removal in 1874 evoked the wrath of many historians.¹²⁵

Neither do the first dukes appear to have built costly churches or monasteries. The Roman clergy converted the Byzantine structures to their own use, as Gregory the Great had advised the missionaries to do with the heathen temples in England, and the small churches in the lower city, notably the Kapnikaraea, Gorgoepékoos and St. Theodore which had been founded previous to the Frankish conquest,¹²⁶ were now filled with Roman ecclesiastics

¹²⁰ Niketas, 367-369; Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, VI, pp. 405-412.

¹²¹ Miller, *Latins*, p. 68.

¹²² II, p. 178; I, p. 357, II, p. 545 n.

¹²³ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, pp. 44-45; Miller, *Latins*, p. 65.

¹²⁴ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, p. 45, thinks that perhaps the Franks altered the Propylaea and built the foundations of the tower; Miller, *Latins*, pp. 401-402, prefers the view given here.

¹²⁵ See Miller, *Latins*, p. 402, "vandalism unworthy of any people imbued with a sense of the continuity of history."

¹²⁶ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, p. 46; Miller, *Latins*, pp. 18-19.

by the arrangements of Innocent III. But Othon like the feudal nobles of the Peloponnesus did not hesitate to seize church property when it suited his purpose¹²⁷ and the quarrels among the Latin clergy tended to weaken his respect for them, so that the Greek clerics benefited by his hostility towards the rival organization. When the Greek metropolitan was restored under the Florentines, he lived in the church now the military bakery, but known as the Mosque of the Conqueror in Turkish times.¹²⁸

Many monasteries like Kaisariani and St. John the Hunter, both charmingly situated on Hymettus, had been exempted from taxation under the Latins and their Greek monks apparently little disturbed, though by a bull of Innocent III (1208) they were attached to the cathedral of Athens.¹²⁹ Daphni, formerly Basilian, was given by Othon to the Cistercians and the Gothic tower and doors bear witness to their occupation. This church was closely connected with the family of La Roche, and Guy III, the last of the line, was buried there in 1308 where his sarcophagus has been identified by the arms on it.¹³⁰ But as Mr. Miller says, "a few coins, a few arches, a casual inscription are all that they [Attica and Boeotia] have retained of their brilliant Burgundian dukes."¹³¹

If, as a result of nearly a hundred years' residence in Athens, the Burgundian dukes left few memorials and seem to have been singularly untouched by their classical surroundings, they differed little from their successors who held sway during the following century. The admiration for ancient Athens so ardently felt by Michael meant nothing to men of alien race and the old tradition seemed in danger of breaking down completely. Except for the philhellene Pedro IV¹³² it was not until the coming of the Florentines that there was any great enthusiasm or ap-

¹²⁷ Miller, *Latins*, pp. 69-70.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 335.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 69; Innocent III, *Epistolae*, XI, lett. 256.

¹³⁰ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, pp. 47, 49.

¹³¹ Miller, *Latins*, p. 234.

¹³² Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, pp. 191-195; Miller, *Latins*, p. 315.

preciation of the glories of Athens, and even in their case it was the charm of surroundings and gayety of life which especially appealed to them.

But at last it became evident that the things for which Akominatos cared had not been entirely forgotten and that some of the seeds he planted were beginning to bear fruit. The growing strength of the modern Greek movement, the brilliant versatility of a few of their Athenian contemporaries, the use of Greek as the official language,—such signs pointed to the fact that the Florentine colony at the court of the Acciajuoli had been partially, at any rate, hellenized.¹³³ Even if they were not conscious students of the classics, they had become steeped in the atmosphere so that when the Turkish conquest forced them to return to their native land, they must have contributed no little share in advancing the movement of the Renaissance.

Even the Turkish conquest failed to put a stop to the newborn interest in antiquity, while at the same time it inaugurated a liberal spirit towards a form of religion different from the official one. Mohammed II is described by his biographers as an enthusiastic philhellene who spent several days admiring his new possessions, particularly the Acropolis,¹³⁴ and evidently had profited much from the description of Athens given him by Cyriacus of Ancona when that traveler was employed as reader to the Sultan at Constantinople.¹³⁵ His Athenian subjects were treated with moderation, the orthodox church was reëstablished and for a few years Akominatos's cathedral was restored to the Greek clergy before it was turned into a mosque.¹³⁶

We have already seen how fond Michael was of referring to the glorious past of Athens, which he calls the

¹³³ Miller, *Latins*, pp. 400-403; the will of Nerio, I, p. 349.

¹³⁴ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, pp. 386-387, quotes Kritobulos, p. 125, and Chalkokondylas, IX, p. 542.

¹³⁵ Miller, *Latins*, p. 439.

¹³⁶ Gregorovius, *Athen*, II, pp. 388-390; Miller, *Latins*, p. 440.

nurse and mother of wisdom, famous and golden, the city of learning, hospitable and surpassing in excellence all the other Greeks as the Greeks did the barbarians, and which he laments as now the remotest corner of the earth, a Tartarus and a hell of sorrows, a pit and a valley of weeping.¹³⁷ Its people, he tells his nephew, have become like the companions of Odysseus and the lotus eaters; they are slaves instead of haters of tyrants as in the days of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, barbarians and rustics, and the Muses have fled from their midst.¹³⁸ But its heroes of old, Theseus, Erechtheus, Codrus, Themistocles, Aristides, the men of Marathon, Pericles, come naturally to his mind as the examples to hold before his flock. For Akominatos there are no sceptical doubts as to the ancestry of the people over whom it was his fate to exercise his benevolent sway. These men are their ancestors,¹³⁹ and blood will tell and hereditary traits persist, and if those Athenians whom he is addressing are not unworthy branches of such a root he will "know the Attic blood more quickly than by the krobylos and tettix."¹⁴⁰ No doubt the illiterate Athenians were far more ignorant of their illustrious past than was the cultivated archbishop whose familiarity with the outstanding events of Athenian history is manifested in every utterance. It is not easy to determine how much of this knowledge came through general information and how much through specific acquaintance with the ancient historians, but he was evidently familiar with Herodotus, at any rate about the Persian War, the story of the demand for earth and water and the throwing of the Persians into the well, the expeditions of Darius and Xerxes (who in his opinion were not nearly as bad as the Franks or the Byzantine praetors), the battles of Salamis with the conspicuous

¹³⁷ I, pp. 158, 94, 124; 95; "πόλις γραμμάτων," I, pp. 94, 326, 319; 158, 100; 98; II, p. 102.

¹³⁸ II, pp. 270; 103; I, pp. 235; 160.

¹³⁹ "'Αθηναίους οἷσι καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηναίων αὐθιγενῶν," I, p. 93.

¹⁴⁰ On hereditary traits, I, pp. 99-102; "γνώσομαι θάπτον τὸ ἀττικίζον αἷμα καὶ ἀθηναῖζον λῆμμα οὐχὶ τῷ κατὰ κεφαλῆς κρωβύλῳ καὶ τέττιγι," I, pp. 101-102.

bravery of Artemisia (whom he thinks too warlike and masculine) and of Plataea.¹⁴¹ He does not quote directly from Herodotus, but says how the good men Herodotus and Xenophon in their histories hymn the city as blessed and great; and he knows the latter as a follower of Socrates, as the general of the Ten Thousand—the “wonderful Xenophon,” as he calls him,—and as the author of the epigram that war is hunting with danger thrown in, and of the story of the dutiful wife Panthea.¹⁴² The grace and sweetness of Xenophon’s style charm him, but he evidently understands and appreciates Thucydides also, for otherwise he could not have used the discriminating word ἐκτραγωδεῖ about Thucydides’s account of the plague or mentioned the σεμνολόγον δεινότητα of his style, and once he quotes him directly.¹⁴³ From one source or another he is familiar with incidents of the Peloponnesian War: Archidamus cutting down the trees of the Acharnians, Alcibiades celebrating after a victory, or performing the Eleusinian Mysteries armed, as he says, because of the occupation of Decelea by the Lacedaemonians, and Thrasylus with his patriots capturing Phyle.¹⁴⁴ Amongst the orators Isocrates, Lysias,¹⁴⁵ Pericles¹⁴⁶ and Demosthenes are those to whom he chiefly refers, and it is strange that the pure Attic style of the best period rather than the flowery later Asiatic school should have made a special appeal to the elaborate Byzantine. In spite of using what must have been the conventional language of the court,

¹⁴¹ II, pp. 388; 103; I, p. 332.

¹⁴² I, p. 36; II, p. 212, “τῷ θαυμασίῳ Ξενοφῶντι”; II, p. 274, “μελέτην πολέμου μετὰ κινδύνων εἶναι φησι τὰ κυνηγέσια”; I, p. 298.

¹⁴³ “γλυκύτητας,” I, p. 158; “χάριτας,” I, p. 313; II, p. 53; I, p. 313; II, p. 4, “. . . κωλύμη τις, οἶμαι, κατὰ τὸν Θουκυδίδην ἀντέσπακέ σε . . .”

¹⁴⁴ II, p. 124; I, pp. 314; 229.

¹⁴⁵ I, pp. 158, “ἵνα μὴ Ἀνσίου τὰς χάριτας καὶ γλυκύτητας Ξενοφώντος καὶ σειρήνας Ἰσοκράτους λέγωμεν”; 313. The descriptive epithets used by Michael may be compared with those used by Anna Comnena a century earlier, “The Siren eloquence of Isocrates, the deep voice of Pindar, the vehemence of Polemon, the muse of Homer, the lyre of Sappho,” Miller, *Anna Comnena*, p. 69. He speaks of the σειρήνας of Isocrates and the ῥοῖζος of Polemon, I, p. 5.

¹⁴⁶ The Olympian with his thunders and lightnings, I, pp. 158, 291.

the taste of both Michael and Niketas preferred models of the finest age. Niketas says he wishes to write in a clear, simple style,¹⁴⁷ Michael's reading as far as we can judge was chosen from the best authors, but both were children of their age and could not shake off the traditions of one thousand years to return wholly to the rarer and purer atmosphere of the youth of Athens. An early admirer of Michael likens him to Xenophon, the "Attic bee,"¹⁴⁸ and, indeed, he reminds us of Horace who passes over the sophisticated elaborations of the Alexandrian age to return to the pure unvitiated models of the great age of lyric poetry. Demosthenes with his force, his vigorous inspiration, his riverlike eloquence, his echo pitched to the utmost, his cleaverlike strokes, whose reference to Hellas almost dying of terrible illnesses Michael quotes and whose *μὰ γῆν*, etc., he says he will not quote, is referred to more than a dozen times and praised often as a statesman although the comedians' jests about the "silver quinsy" are familiar to him.¹⁴⁹ But it is not only the history and customs which he knows: the altar of Pity, the Panathenaic festival, the Panhellenic meetings with their panegyrics, the Eleusinian Mysteries, the torch race, the commemorative statues, the crown of wild olive or pine, Hymettus with its honeylike nectar, Triptolemus with his plough, who has brought to Eleusis corn and fruits, figs, olives, and the vine, Theseus the hero, as well as the founder,¹⁵⁰ Erechtheus with his uncomfortable serpentine ancestry, Erichthonius whose ambiguous birth

¹⁴⁷ Krumbacher, *Geschichte der Byz. Litt.*, p. 87. But that he did not succeed is attested in these verses by one of his contemporaries:

"Οὐκ οἶδα, τί φῆς ἐνθάδε, Χωνειάτα.
Σοφὸν τὸ σάφες συγγράφων εἶναι λέγεις,
Εἶτα γριφώδη καὶ βαρυσώδη γράφεις";

quoted in *ibid.*, n. 4.

¹⁴⁸ Peter Morellus, who translated Akominatos's *Στίχοι* into Latin and wrote a little elegy as an introduction to Michael's works. Ellissen, *Michael Akominatos von Chonae*, p. 144.

¹⁴⁹ I, pp. 291, 331, 146, 5; II, p. 199, "ἀργυράγχην."

¹⁵⁰ I, pp. 148, 319; II, pp. 281, 418; I, p. 313; II, pp. 1-2; I, pp. 94, 158, 326; II, p. 377; I, p. 157; II, p. 129.

was so compromising to Athena,¹⁵¹ Heracles and Perseus and other semimythical figures; he is familiar as well with many of the great works of literature in poetry and philosophy: Anaxagoras and his *νοῦς*, Protagoras, Pythagoras and Theano his wife, the Pythagoreans, the Stoics, whose philosophy Akominatos rates above that of Aristotle because more courageous and "nearer ours;" Socrates maligned in life and exalted after death, his pupils Xenophon and Plato (whom he refers to in at least three aspects: as idealist with his city, as critic who calls dialectic the coping stone of all philosophy and as an ordinary human being who says that the Academy is the most unhealthy spot in Attica), Aristotle in whose natural philosophy about animals and nature, physiology and doctors, he takes a special delight and whose views on heredity he accepts.¹⁵² Michael had a particular interest in doctors: the works of Galen were one of the treasures of his library, he quotes the saying of Hippocrates that the doctor must cure souls as well as bodies, and Erasistratos he calls "the best of doctors," although this may be because he was born in Keos where Michael spent his last years.¹⁵³

It is interesting when we turn to the poets to see which are conspicuous by their absence. Hesiod he knows and quotes, sometimes for a word, sometimes for a story, again on the climate of his country "cold in winter, stifling in summer, never good," and he knows, too, the famous passage on the bronze age "when there was not yet black iron."¹⁵⁴ Next to Homer his favorite appears to have been Pindar, whose Boeotian lyre sang so well and whose telling phrases like "sweet hope the nurse," "the defence and unbending column," "the

¹⁵¹ II, p. 367; I, p. 102 (see *ante*, p. 284, n. 43).

¹⁵² I, p. 322; II, p. 121; II, p. 3; I, p. 5; II, p. 220; I, p. 73, "θριγγὸν ἀπάσης φιλοσοφίας ὠνόμαζεν"; II, p. 269, "νοσωδέστατον"; II, pp. 190; 265.

¹⁵³ II, pp. 190; 59; 387, "ἰητῆρων . . . ἀριστος."

¹⁵⁴ II, pp. 215, 619 n., "βουδόρος," cf. "κάκ' ἤματα, βουδόρα πάντα," Hes., *Erga*, 502; II, pp. 285; 305, "ἐν χειμῶνι μὲν ψυχράν, ἐν δὲ θέρει πνιγνῆράν, τουτέστιν οὐδέποτε ἐσθλήν"; II, p. 200, "μήπω παρόντος μέλανος σιδήρου."

eyes not of the body but the soul," "the shining face," "the shadow of a dream," appear in Michael's writings, quoted from the Olympian or Pythian Odes. He refers also to the epigram that Artemisium laid the shining foundation of freedom.¹⁵⁵ Pindar's contemporary Simonides and his nephew Bacchylides, both natives of Keos, added great glory and fame to the island according to Michael.¹⁵⁶ Alcaeus and Sappho, Anacreon and the lesser poets are not mentioned, and of the later lyric writers, there is only a reflection of the "white spring" of Callimachus.¹⁵⁷ References to the traditional subjects and plots are common although the great writers of tragedy are never referred to by name. Pegasus, Penthesilea, the birth of Athena, the contest of Hera, Athena and Aphrodite for the apple, the "accursed Thracian" who cut out Pandion's daughter's tongue, the traditional version of the derivation of letters from the Phoenicians, the ivory shoulder of Pelops, Alkestis, the single combat of the sons of Oedipus, the contrast between Electra and Chrysothemis, Medea scattering her poison as the praetor scatters his iniquity,¹⁵⁸—such are household words to Michael; but in the case of the last examples, it is impossible to tell how much of his knowledge is due to our common heritage and how much to acquaintance with the great writers. In spite of his serious-minded dignity and intense piety, Akominatos must have had a sense of humor; he knows the stock sayings about the obol in the mouth, the ox on the tongue,¹⁵⁹ the jests about the integrity of Demosthenes; like Samuel Butler, he perceives the humor in Homer's treatment of

¹⁵⁵ I, p. 24, "Κωφὸς μὲν ἀνὴρ ὁ τοῖς ἀρίστοις ἦν ὅτε ἀνδράσι στόμα μὴ περιβάλλων," εὐ γὰρ ἡ βοιωτίας τοῦτο καὶ θηβήθεν ἀνεβάλετο λύρα," Pind., *Pyth.*, V, 87; I, p. 266, "γλυκεῖα . . . ἔλπις κουροτρόφος"; I, p. 285, II, pp. 92, 504 n., "κίονα κατὰ Πίνδαρον ἀστραβῆ"; I, pp. 252; 210; II, p. 480 n.; I, p. 14; II, p. 436 n.; II, p. 195.

¹⁵⁶ II, p. 387.

¹⁵⁷ I, p. 210; II, p. 480 n.

¹⁵⁸ II, pp. 421, 377; I, pp. 325, 94, 158; II, p. 87; I, pp. 94; 102; 313; II, pp. 344; 297; I, p. 177.

¹⁵⁹ II, p. 199.

the suitors and the Hephaestos episode;¹⁶⁰ he quotes Aristophanes about the golden tripod at Delphi, adopts his word *αἰγυπτιάζοντας*, and his phrase the "Scythian wilderness,"¹⁶¹ and (as he says) delights and revels in the comic and is almost ready to dance. He is familiar with proverbial sayings, like "taking owls to Athens," or "the eyes and ears of the Persian king," or the Delphic "Know thyself" and "Nothing too much," or the statements that Cretans are chronic liars,¹⁶² or that Greeks are always children, or phrases like piling Ossa on Olympus, or "white days" (so often used by classical writers, among them Plutarch, Aeschylus and Sophocles), or "windy Troy," and "wintry Dodona."¹⁶³ His quotations are often from memory and vary a trifle in form or order¹⁶⁴ but can generally be identified even if he does not mention the author. The famous epigram, "O stranger, announce to the Lacedaemonians," or the lines on the four thousand who fought against the myriads of the Persians,¹⁶⁵ the Pindaric "wordy crows," the Theocritean "hopes amongst the living but not the dead,"¹⁶⁶ and many others which have already been mentioned, all testify to the breadth of the learned metropolitan's reading.

Despite his enthusiasm for the beauties of his cathedral and his sorrow for the loss or ruin of many famous buildings, he makes no mention of any architect or sculptor or of any famous statues, although the "bronze Athena"¹⁶⁷ may perhaps refer to the work of Phidias which had disappeared long before his day. It hardly seems possible

¹⁶⁰ I, p. 13.

¹⁶¹ II, pp. 199-200; I, p. 476; II, p. 472 n. (from *Thesm.* 920); I, p. 321, "*ἐρημίας σκυθικῆς*."

¹⁶² I, pp. 94; 341; II, p. 193; I, p. 100, "*Κρήτες ἀεὶ φησι ψεύσται οὐχ ὅτ' ἐμὲν, ὅτε δ' οὐ*."

¹⁶³ II, pp. 382; 93; I, p. 160; II, p. 462 n.; II, p. 145, "*ἠνεμέβessαν Ἴλιον . . . Δωδώνην . . . δυσχείμερον*."

¹⁶⁴ Lampros, *M. A.*, II, p. 437 n.

¹⁶⁵ I, p. 155.

¹⁶⁶ I, p. 167; II, p. 437 n., "*παγγλωσίας κόρακας*"; I, p. 15; II, p. 437 n. (from *Elid.* Δ', 42).

¹⁶⁷ II, p. 200.

that the brother of the man who was so deeply moved by the vandalism which destroyed the great works of art in Constantinople can have failed to appreciate those which survived in Athens. Probably very few remained to be seen and in any case Michael seems to have been neither a Pausanias nor a Cyriacus of Ancona. His interests apparently lay elsewhere and the presumably scanty leisure amidst the many activities of his busy life was spent in literary pursuits. For music he knows Amphion and Orpheus, the Lesbian lyre and the flutes of Timotheus.

But to him the great poet was the supreme rhapsode, the spring from which all other poetry took its source, the inspired and divine herald of ἀρετή and the servant of the Muses.¹⁶⁸ Michael's love of Homer, doubtless acquired from the great Homeric scholar, Eustathios, who had been his teacher, is an integral part of his nature and he never tires of quoting him, either for the good examples he furnishes of the Greeks going silent into battle, the grief-concealing hero, banqueters listening spellbound to the lyre of Orpheus, the wise Nestor who had known two generations of men and ruled the third, the two jars of good and evil; or the bad examples of the unskilled driver dashing recklessly along with rattling chariot, or the terrible man who speaks in haste and blames the guiltless.¹⁶⁹ Homeric phrases too, like the "fishy Hellespont," the "spring of his age," the "flower of his youth,"¹⁷⁰ as well as more familiar tags are embedded in Michael's writings. The steadfast Odysseus who longs to see the smoke rising from his home or who deceives the Cyclops by the pun on his name, the beggar naked and in rags who falls upon the suitors, Penelope and her web, Calypso "ageless and deathless," the gardens of Alkinoos,¹⁷¹ are as familiar to him as the heroes of the Iliad. He re-

¹⁶⁸ II, p. 215; II, pp. 219-220; I, p. 26; II, p. 389.

¹⁶⁹ I, pp. 183; 197; II, p. 212; I, p. 17; II, pp. 24, 27, 314; I, p. 291; I, p. 297; II, p. 145.

¹⁷⁰ II, pp. 194; 300.

¹⁷¹ II, pp. 153; 189; 296; 207; I, p. 14, "ἀθάνατον καὶ ἀγήρατον"; II, p. 384.

proaches his frivolous nephew because even with the book in his hands he does not talk with the poet, a shocking contrast to Alexander who kept Homer under his pillow¹⁷² so that thus even in sleep they were not divided. It is this same nephew whom he commissions to keep on the lookout for the parts of Homer which are missing from his edition. The Frankish soldiers in their looting of the Acropolis had scattered Michael's library and it was with the greatest difficulty that some of the books were recovered or replaced. Basil of Kunegos had sent him a Homer, but as it was not complete he wished to purchase the missing pages.¹⁷³

The loss of his library, the nucleus of which had been brought with him from Constantinople, and had been added to in Athens by gift, by purchase, or by copying, was one of the severest blows which befell Michael as a result of the Frankish invasion.¹⁷⁴ Some of the books known to have been included in it show the interest Michael felt in science, for Galen, Hippocrates, Aristotle's scientific works, and Euclid were companions of Homer, Thucydides, Plato, and the exegesis of Theophylactus on the epistles of St. Paul which he had copied himself and had hoped to have as a consolation of his old age.¹⁷⁵ Little did he think that the books he had collected with so much trouble were to fall into the hands of the barbarous Italians of whom he writes to Theodore of Euripos that "asses would more readily appreciate the music of the lyre or dung beetles enjoy the scent of myrtle than they the magic of rhetoric,"¹⁷⁶ classical phrases which come more naturally to his pen than the biblical casting of pearls before swine. He says these treasures are of no use to the conquerors¹⁷⁷ and we do not know the fate of

¹⁷² II, p. 220.

¹⁷³ II, p. 219.

¹⁷⁴ See *ante*, p. 300, n. 122.

¹⁷⁵ II, pp. 296, 640 n., 242, 627 n.

¹⁷⁶ II, p. 296.

¹⁷⁷ Dogs in the manger, II, p. 242.

them, although Lampros says that the Franks in Athens, like the Venetians in Constantinople, took them.¹⁷⁸

From Keos, Michael writes that since his political work is over he has much leisure, and his books are almost his only solace during his loneliness and exile on the rocky island. Little by little he accumulated a few through the kind offices of his friends, for he never ventured more than once away from his new home. He asks them to send him Euclid's *Geometry* and Theophylactus's *Exegesis*, both of which are on wood paper with leather covers, one black and one blue-green.¹⁷⁹ We can at least think of Michael's declining years comforted with something to read even if we cannot tell what became of the books after his death. Lampros has traced the fate of one book, a copy of Niketas's *Treasury of Orthodoxy* which passed to Michael Akominatos and thence to Theodore of Scutari in Cyzicus who copied Michael's monody on Niketas. After the capture of Cyzicus by the Turks, this manuscript went to Athos and thence to Paris where it was bought by John of St. Andrew. This statement occurs in Peter Morelli's edition of the *Treasury*, published 1561. Montfaucon had a cloth codex of the *Treasury* which contained the monody of Michael; it passed to Baluze and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.¹⁸⁰

The writings of Akominatos are many and varied. He was an indefatigable correspondent and a good proportion of the eight hundred pages of his writings edited by Lampros consists of his letters to all sorts of people, clergymen and laymen, many of whom he had known when a resident of Byzantium. His old teacher, Eustathios, the bishops and abbots, some of whom occupied independent sees, others of whom had been under his jurisdiction—notably the abbot of Kaisariani whom he advised to come to friendly terms with the Franks¹⁸¹—

¹⁷⁸ 'Αθηναίων, VI, pp. 356-357.

¹⁷⁹ II, pp. 242, 627 n.

¹⁸⁰ 'Αθηναίων, VI, pp. 362-363.

¹⁸¹ II, pp. 311-312.

received many letters both before and after the capture of Athens. In the earlier part of his career he kept up a voluminous correspondence by letter or by more formal communications with the leading representatives of Byzantine officialdom from the Emperor down. Certain men like Stryphnos, the admiral whose wife was sister of the Empress (addressed by Michael as "best of women")¹⁸² and who naturally would be expected to exercise a great deal of influence, or like Drimys, were the recipients of eloquent appeals to aid the suffering Athenians.¹⁸³ It is from these documents and the monodies or funeral addresses over Eustathios and Niketas¹⁸⁴ that we obtain most of our information about conditions in mediæval Attica. They are the only contemporary accounts written on the spot and without them our ignorance of the fate of Athens would be far greater than it actually is. Michael's sermons with their conventional views and orthodox piety might easily be spared; his literary exercises are of value merely as illustrating the taste or the language of the period; his poetry—ranging from religious verses on the Crucifixion, the Mother of God, or the Unicorn, to the classical medley called *Theano*—is feeble and insignificant if judged by impartial standards of criticism; even his best-known poem, the verses on the ruins and former glory of Athens, has little literary value.¹⁸⁵ And yet in spite of their artificiality, their elaborate and overloaded style, full of phrases and often almost fulsome with the flattering politeness of the conventional Byzantine etiquette,¹⁸⁶ the writings of Michael Akominatos have a definite importance in addition to their value as historical documents which supply information. They show us that

¹⁸² I, p. 341, "γυναικῶν ἀρίστη."

¹⁸³ To Drimys, *Address*, I, pp. 157-179; *Letter*, II, pp. 81-84; to Stryphnos, I, pp. 324-342; II, pp. 98-100; to Kamateros, I, pp. 312-323; II, pp. 62-64.

¹⁸⁴ On Eustathios, I, pp. 283-306; on Niketas, I, pp. 345-366.

¹⁸⁵ Στίχοι, II, pp. 397-398.

¹⁸⁶ He tells Drimys that he surpasses Themistocles in foresight (ἀρχινοώστερον) as much as a grown man does a child (I, p. 160).

in the city of wisdom, in the Periclean school of Hellas, there still dwelt one who passed on the torch and kept the flickering lamp of Hellenism trimmed, to whom the mighty heroes of old were living men, examples to be followed, and to whom the great works of old—in art and in literature—were a very part of the air he breathed and of the stuff his mind was made of. Not only were they the objects of his eloquent enthusiasm but he paid them the sincerest flattery of attempting to imitate them to the best of his ability. His verses are written not in the so-called “political” metre of modern Greek—the trochaic trimeter which had already taken shape a century before his time¹⁸⁷ and in which the narrative *Chronicles of Morea* was written shortly after Michael’s day—but in hexameters or iambs; classical phrases, allusions, and quotations slip naturally from his pen, and whenever possible, the ancient word is used in preference to the new or corrupt form.¹⁸⁸ This is no place to enter upon the question of the wisdom of such an attempt to revive a bygone phase in the development of a language or to restore usages which have become to a large degree obsolete or forgotten. A similar effort had been made more than a century earlier in the time of Anna Comnena to purify the language by clearing out Latin words and τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν εἰς ἄκρον¹⁸⁹ and was to be made again seven centuries later by the Greeks after their successful War of Independence, and in both cases called forth much criticism. And yet the most ardent advocate of progress would scarcely be prepared to go as far as to maintain the supe-

¹⁸⁷ The didactic poem, “Spaneas,” written in fifteen-syllable verse, has been attributed to the Emperor Alexis I. See Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 225; Gorgilas assigns it to the fifteenth century, Gregorovius, *Athen*, I, p. 226, n. 1.

¹⁸⁸ Despite Michael’s classical leanings, Lampros has counted more than 350 words used by him which are not in the Thesaurus. *M. A.*, Index (ΠΙΝΑΞ), pp. ιθ’-κβ’.

¹⁸⁹ Freeman, “Some Points in Hist. of Greek Lang.,” pp. 361-392; Miller, “Anna Comnena,” pp. 66, “acquainted with every art” (Niketas); 75, “an accurately Attic Greek style” (Zonaras); 80, her dislike of inserting “barbarous names” which “befouled” her style.

riority of modern Greek over ancient as a perfect expression of thought through language. That one man, and he no transcendent genius, could not bring back the past and inaugurate a renaissance of Hellenism in its most famous home, need detract in no way from our admiration for what Michael really represented. *Ξένος* by birth, he so identified himself with his adopted home that we may call him the last of the great Athenians, worthy to stand beside those noble figures whose example he so glowingly presented to the people of his flock.

“THE GENEALOGY OF
THE GODS”



BY CORNELIA C. COULTER

“THE GENEALOGY OF THE GODS”

ABOUT the middle of the fourteenth century, when the western world was just beginning to feel the quickening of the New Birth, there came upon Hugo, King of Cyprus, a desire to know something of the gods and heroes of classical mythology and of the interpretation given to the myths by learned men of old. He commissioned one of his soldiers, Donnino di Parma, to find someone who could give him this information in literary form, and Donnino sought out a young poet-scholar who had already won some distinction through a collection of Latin eclogues, Giovanni Boccaccio da Certaldo. Boccaccio, as he tells the King in a dedicatory epistle, at first protested his incompetence for so huge a task,—his lack of talent, his slow wit, his treacherous memory,—but in the end he yielded to the request of Hugo and embarked upon the venture with the prayer to the one true God, “ut grandi superboque coeptui meo fauens adsit. Sit mihi splendens et immobile sidus. et nauiculae dissuetum mare sulcantis gubernaculum regat. et ut opportunitas exigit uentis uela concedat. ut eo deuehar quo suo nomini sit decus. laus honor. et gloria sempiterna” (Ded. Epist.).¹

A mighty undertaking it was indeed, and we, from the safe shelter of our libraries, with card catalogues, classified bibliographies and dictionaries of antiquity at our elbows, must look with awe upon the labors of this pioneer among scholars, in the days when precious manuscripts lay covered with dust in a corner of some monastery, or were cut up by the priests to be sold as amulets. Boc-

¹ Quotations from the *Genealogia Deorum* follow the text of the edition in the Vassar College Library (Venice, 1497).

caccio himself complains of the scarcity of books (XIV, 1), of the condition of one of his own manuscripts, so disfigured by blots and erasures that it is impossible to read the text (X, 7), of the scorn of the general public for all literary work, and of the hostile attitude of certain princes, which has resulted in the destruction of countless volumes (Ded. Epist.).

The work covered roughly the last twenty-five years of Boccaccio's life. In the absence of definite information we may follow Hauvette's chronology, which dates the interview with Donnino in 1347. Between 1350 and 1360 Boccaccio probably worked industriously on the treatise, collecting an enormous mass of material and fitting it into a framework in which the greater divinities, with their progeny, were each assigned to one or more books, and the author himself, under the figure of a voyager, appeared at the beginning of each book. Hugo meanwhile had grown impatient; but the messengers and letters which he sent availed him naught, and when he died, on October 10, 1359, the work was still unfinished. Boccaccio seems to have continued his studies for some years after this date, inserting quotations from Homer and bits of Greek learning that he had acquired, adding in the margin a passage from Tacitus or Pomponius Mela, a Biblical parallel or the allegorical explanation of some myth. An elaborately drawn genealogical tree was prefixed to each of the thirteen books, and the original brief conclusion was expanded into two more books in defense of the author and his calling.² Even as late as 1371 he had not given the finishing touches to the manuscript, and he was distressed beyond measure when a copy which he had lent to his friend San Severino reached the eyes of others.

In its final form, as represented by the first printed edition, the *Genealogia Deorum Gentilium* comprises fifteen books and makes a ponderous folio volume of over five hundred pages. To be sure, it touches on far more than mere mythology. One chapter of the last book tells some-

² Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, pp. 108-114; Hauvette, *Boccace*, pp. 405-424.

thing of Boccaccio's early life—how his father strove to interest him, first in a business career, and then in the study of canon law; but how the impulse toward authorship that had stirred him before he was seven years of age gave him no peace and finally made him, almost against his will, a writer (XV, 10). Another chapter brings before us the contemporary scholars whom Boccaccio has quoted in the earlier books: Paolo da Perugia, the librarian of King Robert of Naples; the Calabrian monk Barlaam, “corpore pusillum praegrandem tamen scientia,” a weighty authority on all things Greek; Barlaam's pupil, Leonzio Pilato, the “magna bellua” whose repulsive figure and surly manners Petrarch found intolerable, but at whose side, for the love that he bore to learning, Boccaccio was content to sit, noting down line by line his crude and inaccurate translation of Homer and his faulty explanations of the text. Boccaccio pays a tribute to his fellow townsman, Paolo il Geometra, and to his teacher of astronomy, the “venerable” Andalò di Negro, as scientists whose achievements have won more than a national reputation. For Francesco da Barberino, author of the *Documenti d'Amore*, and for Dante and the poem “quod sub titulo comoediae . . . florentino idiomate mirabili artificio scripsit,” he has warm praise. But the place of highest honor falls to his friend and master, Francesco Petrarca, the author of an epic which ranks with *Aeneid* and *Iliad*, the poet whose merits but a few years before had been recognized by the award of the laurel crown at Rome (XV, 6).

Some of the proems, too, give vivid pictures of contemporary life. The introductions to Books IX and X tell of travelers who make their way over Arctic snows and beneath Ethiopian suns; of ships that brave the storms of the Mediterranean to bring back from the East ivory and precious stones, balsam and fragrant spices, strange woods and gums and medicinal roots; of splendid palaces and parks and lakes; of trains of attendants and spirited horses, and garments bright with gold and gems.

Even the chapters on mythology afford an occasional glimpse of fourteenth-century Italy. Piracy must be common; else why should "pyrrhatae" figure so frequently in the tales, or why should Boccaccio take the trouble to explain that Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, was the first to follow this calling and handed down the name to his successors (XII, 53)? And as for infants deserted by their parents and adopted into noble families, has not Boccaccio seen such a one with his own eyes (V, 19)? The attempt to discover the future "per scelestum illud nigromantiae sacrum" (VI, 53) and the art of divination by water (VII, 9) are evidently familiar practices. Nor is the lore of the heavens neglected. To Boccaccio and his contemporaries, Mercury is still "mercurial" and Jupiter "jovial"; Saturn always exerts a baleful influence (VIII, 1); the man born when Mars is found in the house of Venus is a libertine (IX, 4), while the one at whose natal hour the sun prevails is a model of beauty and amiability (IV, 3).

The few scientific comments in the *Genealogia* indicate gross misconceptions on the part even of educated men. Some astronomical knowledge Boccaccio undoubtedly possesses—the names of the two poles in the heavens, for instance (I, 6), or the fact that the planet Saturn requires approximately thirty years to pass through the signs of the zodiac (VIII, 1). But on other points his ignorance is profound. Earthquakes, he says, are caused by the movement of heated air in enclosed caverns (IV, 22); winds spring up when the motion of water in a cave produces heat and the vapors that rise are changed to air and rush forth from the cave (IV, 54); the salt waters of the sea are driven into the bowels of the earth by the sun's heat, are there sweetened by the cold, and then flow out again (III, 5). We find marvelous explanations of the sex of children (III, 21), of the course of the veins running from the "tendon of Achilles" (XII, 52), and the solemn statement that mourning causes madness, "nam exhausto lachrymis humiditate cerebro: feruentes cordis impetus

frenari non possunt: et sic quis in furiam labitur” (III, 16).

Even more significant for the history of Renaissance culture are allusions to the literary and artistic topics of the day. The characterization of Giotto as the equal of Apelles (XIV, 6) and the contention that Cerberus, Charon and Pluto are suitable subjects for a Christian artist (XIV, 18), testify to Boccaccio’s interest in painting. On the other hand, the mighty ruins of the past, which stirred the soul of Petrarch, seem to have moved him very little. He too had viewed the fallen grandeur of Rome; but the only hint of his visits there is a comment on the pyramid of Cestius—which, says he, marks the spot in the city wall where Remus was struck down by Romulus: “ostenduntque odierni pyramidem in mura [*sic*] saxis in altum egestam cadaueri eius supraedificatam” (IX, 40). We hear echoes of the railing against womankind popular in the Middle Ages and represented in contemporary literature by Boccaccio’s own *Corbaccio*. Boccaccio not only quotes at length and with approval Petrarch’s *De Vita Solitaria* (IV, 44), but adds little satirical touches in his treatment of mythological heroines—Ino, who plotted against her husband’s children “uti nouercarum mos est” (XIII, 67), or the Danaïdes, whose struggles to fill bottomless jars typify the unavailing efforts of women to make themselves fair (II, 23). Democracy, too, finds a voice in his censure of ambitious rulers who demand for themselves the bended knee and uncovered head that belong by right to God alone (III, 11) and in his bitter denunciation of the tyrants who fear not God nor regard man, who gnaw the very vitals of their people, robbing them of their substance, sending them into exile, and putting the innocent to death (X, 14).

But though Boccaccio anticipates modern theories of government, there is in this volume no hint of the religious reformer. Even without the detailed confession of faith in XV, 9, the reader of the *Genealogia* would not question the author’s orthodoxy. Each book opens with a

prayer for guidance to him who led the magi by his star (III), or calmed the waves of Lake Gennesaret (II), or saved the ark of Noah from the flood (VII). The thought of Samos suggests to Boccaccio the sad contrast between the honors which pagans paid to Juno, and Christian neglect of the stainless queen of heaven (IX, Proem); and the Homeric epithet *ἐννοσίγαιος* calls forth the exclamation, "O quam male legerant dauidicum illud. Nisi dominus aedificauerit domum in uanum laborant qui aedificant eam. et hi potissime qui Neptuno fundamenta commodant: cum nil stabile: nisi fundetur in petra: petra autem Cristus est" (X, 1).

Modern critics have found the last two books the most interesting of the volume, and have read the *Genealogia* chiefly for the light that it throws on the life and thought of the time. The mythological part has been characterized as "ein wüstes und geschmackloses Notizenmagazin," or "a mass of confused details quite undigested and set forth without any unity." But to the reader of Boccaccio's day the mythology was the important thing—so important, indeed, that the earliest French translator thought it unnecessary to continue his labors beyond the close of Book XIII. *The Genealogy of the Gods*, in its original Latin form and in Italian, French, and Spanish translations, found a large public, and furnished, as Lounsbury has said, "the great storehouse from which men of that time drew their knowledge of the details of classical fable."

When we examine the treatise closely, we find it a strange blending of the old and the new, so that its author seems to stand, as Petrarch once said of himself (*Rer. Mem.*, I, 2), "velut in confinio duorum populorum constitutus, ac simul ante retroque prospiciens." Though Boccaccio states in the dedicatory epistle that he knows of no other one work on the subject, he undoubtedly owes much, in both subject-matter and form, to his predecessors. A treatise on mythology had been written in the Augustan Age by Hyginus; later compilations had been made by

Fulgentius, Albericus, and a certain Theodontius; and Boccaccio's contemporary, Paolo da Perugia, had gathered together bits of classical story under the title *Collectiones*. All these works, however, were comparatively short and limited in scope. The plan of the *Genealogia* seems rather to have been suggested by the great encyclopaedias of the Middle Ages, of which Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum Naturale, Doctrinale, et Historiale* is the most notable example. The very attempt to reduce the whole of classical mythology to a system, and to bring each god, demigod, and hero into connection with the mighty father of the race, marks Boccaccio as a child of the Middle Ages. He shows the mediæval passion for completeness when he searches out the names of thirty-eight of the fifty children of Priam (VI, 14), and confesses with regret that he does not know the latter end of Sinon, the betrayer of Troy (II, 18), nor what happened to Adrastus after the war of the seven chieftains against Thebes (II, 41).

His attitude, moreover, is avowedly uncritical. “Quae quidem et alia,” he says in the dedicatory epistle, “si quae sunt a debito uariantia non est meae intentionis redarguere uel aliquo modo corrigere. nisi ad aliquem ordinem sponte sua se sinant redigi. Satis enim mihi erit comperta rescribere. et disputat<i>ones philosophantibus linquere.” Accordingly it is not surprising to find, after the presentation of conflicting views about Io and Isis, “Sane solertibus huius ueritatis inquisitio relinquatur” (IV, 46), or, in the account of Apis, to come upon the desperate conclusion, “Deus rei huius uideat ueritatem: ego quidem has intricaciones non intelligo: ne dum explicare queam” (VII, 24).

The same utter lack of criticism is evident whenever he touches on the marvelous. His belief in astrology we can forgive, knowing how much of this pseudo-science was mingled with the learning of even an eminent astronomer like Andalò. But dreams and portents obtain the same easy credence. Boccaccio relates, in perfectly good faith,

the history of the Roman knight, Arterius Rufus, who, one night at Syracuse, dreamed that he was pierced in the hand by a *retiarius* at a gladiatorial show, and the next day met his end in exactly that way (I, 31; *cf.* Val. Max., I, 7, 8). Though he puts no faith in old wives' tales of fauns or fair-faced Lamias, he is willing to believe, with Pliny, that Nereïdes have been known (VII, 14; VIII, 13), and the reported discovery of a monstrous skeleton furnishes him with proof of the existence of giants (IV, 68; *cf.* X, 14; XII, 60, 67). Dolphins tame enough to eat out of men's hands and to carry swimmers on their backs seem to him perfectly reasonable (VII, 10), and he accepts without question the tale that the companions of Ulysses, transformed by Circe into lions and other wild beasts, are still heard to roar about the mountain where she once lived (IV, 14).

And yet there is an occasional gleam of the critical spirit that was to mark the new age. Though Boccaccio sometimes prefers to follow the Latin poets rather than Homer (IX, 2; XII, 15), and though he puts undue confidence in late writers like Anselm and Gervase of Tilbury (XII, 22), elsewhere he shows some appreciation of the relative merit of authorities. When his sources differ on the parentage of Ulysses, he declares for Homer, Vergil, and the earlier writers, as against Theodontius and Leonzio Pilato (XI, 40), and in discussing Pilato's statement that Polymilias was the only son of Aeson, he says, "Verum ego plus fidei antiquatae famae exhibeo: qua habemus Iasonem Esonis fuisse filium quam auctori nouo" (XIII, 31).

The final authority on all questions is the Bible, and Boccaccio does not hesitate to adopt the scriptural version wherever this contradicts the pagan (II, 76; V, 25; XIII, 45). Almost equally strong is his allegiance to the church fathers and to the Roman poet whom the Church revered as a prophet of the Christ. After repeating Saint Ambrose's tale of the fourteen days of supernatural calm when the halcyon is breeding its young, he adds, "Sic

Ambrosius si dixisset poeta fabulosum putassem” (XI, 18); and his comment on the Vergilian story of Manto, mother of the legendary founder of Mantua, is, “Quod etsi minime probetur: quis tam claro uati fidem deneget circa suae ciuitatis originem?” (VII, 51).

This sanctity, shared in some degree by all the great writers of the past, makes him tend to accept even the most improbable of stories. And yet at times his critical sense asserts itself with the declaration that “salua semper reuerentia Bedae” (IV, 55) or “Ciceronis” (V, 3), he cannot believe a given tale. Even Fulgentius, to whom Boccaccio owes so much, is described in one chapter as “amplissimam et meo iudicio minime opportunam uerborum effundens copiam” (IV, 24); and in another place he writes, “Posuissem Fulgentii expositionem. sed quoniam per sublimia uadit: omisi” (XI, 7).

Sometimes his criticism is based on chronological grounds—as when he rejects the theory that the Circe who beguiled the companions of Ulysses was the sister of Aeëtes of Colchis, since the Colchian Circe lived long before the Trojan War (IV, 14); or when he decides that the son of Orestes could not have founded Corinth, because Eusebius tells of its foundation by Sisyphus many years before (XII, 22). Though he hesitates to contradict the legend that the Frankish kings were descended from Hector, “cum omnia sint possibilia apud deum” (VI, 24), he passes over a similar claim made by the kings of Britain as “nec uera nec uerisimilia” (VI, 57); and the story of the deification of Aeneas calls forth only scorn: “Deificatio autem sua nil aliud est quam insipientium ridenda fatuitas. Credo enim eum in Numico flumine nec-tum [*sic*]: et in mare deuolutum: et tuscis piscibus escam fuisse laurentibus” (VI, 53).

In method of presentation, the *Genealogia Deorum* is a fit product of the age which found a symbolic meaning in everything, from the union of David and Bathsheba to the serpent in Vergil’s Fourth Eclogue. King Hugo’s original request had laid equal emphasis upon the stories

and their interpretation; and Boccaccio himself recognizes the importance of allegory, both in his theoretical discussion of poetry, where he maintains that the meaning hidden "sub cortice" is a poem's chief reason for being (XIV, 10, 12), and in the amount of space which he actually devotes to explanation of the myths. Early in the first book (I, 3) he pauses for a discourse which, with slight variations, embodies the "four daughters of wisdom" of Rabanus Maurus. A story, says Boccaccio, may have several different meanings—*e.g.*, the story of Perseus cutting off the Gorgon's head and then soaring aloft on winged sandals may be taken literally, as the narrative of a historical event; or morally, as a symbol of the wise man's victory over sin and approach to virtue; or allegorically, of the soul spurning earthly joys and rising to heaven; or analogically, of Christ subduing the prince of this world and ascending to the Father. Boccaccio quotes from Rabanus the theory that Atlas first discovered astrology "et hinc ob sudores ex arte susceptos caelum tolerasse dictum est" (IV, 31). From Fulgentius he derives the allegory of Antaeus, the giant whom Hercules could subdue only by raising him aloft from the ground—a type of earthly lust, conquered "ab homine uirtuoso: carnis denegato tactu" (I, 13). And after telling the story of Pasiphaë and the bull, he adds this (apparently original) explanation: Pasiphaë, daughter of the Sun, is the soul, child of the true God; her husband, Minos, is human reason, which rules the soul and directs it in the right path; Venus, her enemy, stands for concupiscence; the bull represents the pleasures of this world; and from the union of the soul and pleasure arises the Minotaur, the vice of bestiality (IV, 10).

Oftentimes the interpretation of the story is bound up with the etymology of the name. In rare cases this etymology is correct: Strophades, connected with a Greek word meaning "turning" (IV, 59; *cf.* Serv. ad *Aen.*, III, 209); Phosphorus, "quasi lucem afferens" (III, 22; *cf.* Cic., *De Nat. Deor.*, II, 20, 53). More often the derivations present

the wildest absurdities. Demogorgon is the Greek equivalent of “*terrae deus*,” “*nam demon deus ut dicit Lactantius. Gorgon autem terra interpretatur*” (I, Proem). Mors is so called “*ut dicit Vgucio quia mordeat. uel a morsu parentis primi per quem morimur*” (I, 32). The name Pandora may mean either “*omnium minus*,” signifying that the wise man is made wise by knowledge, not of one thing, but of many or all; or “*amaritudine plenus*”—for, as Job said, “*Homo natus de muliere breui uiuens tempore multis repletus miseriis*” (IV, 45).

Like his mediæval predecessors, Boccaccio is content to quote at second or third hand, without mention of his immediate source. The views which he ascribes to the pre-Socratic philosophers (General Proem) are drawn either from Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.*, I, 10) or from Lactantius (*Inst. Div.*, I, 5); Plato’s doctrine of the spheres (IV, 3) comes from Macrobius’s commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* (I, 20, 2); and the quotations from “*Appollophanes comicus*” (VIII, 1) and “*Porphirius in epigrammate*” (III, 23) are presumably derived from Fulgentius (*Myth.*, I, 2; II, 4).

This dependence on secondary sources, excusable though it may be in the case of Plato or Porphyrius, finds no such justification when the text of the author in question was easily accessible. The story of Flora is told in the *Fasti* of Ovid; but though Boccaccio mentions this poet by name (IV, 61), he apparently gets both the reference and his entire account of the goddess from the other authority whom he cites, “*Lactantius in libro diuinarum institutionum*” (*Inst. Div.*, I, 20). Similarly, the tale of Pan and Syrinx, with all the familiar Ovidian details, is given by Boccaccio as coming from Theodontius (I, 4).

Nevertheless, Boccaccio has a far wider acquaintance with classical literature than any writer of the previous age had possessed.³ While his quotations from the Greek are in general derived either from Latin authors or from

³ For a complete list of Boccaccio’s sources, see Schück, *Zur Charakteristik der italienischen Humanisten*, pp. 5-10; Hortis, *Studi sulle opere latine*

mediaeval collections, three years of arduous note-taking under Pilato have borne fruit in over fifty translations and close paraphrases of Homer. His knowledge, to be sure, is pitifully meager. He follows an incorrect reading without any misgiving (III, 22; VI, 20, 42; X, 17), copies down a Latin version for which his text of Homer furnishes no equivalent (V, 43; VI, 33, 38), and is quite unable to correct the faulty Greek in his copies of Lactantius and Servius (I, 7; VIII, 17).⁴ But in spite of his own difficulties, in spite of the carping tongues of critics who accuse him of ostentation, he still maintains stoutly, "In-sipidum est ex riuulis quaerere quod possis ex fonte percipere"; and he makes the proud boast, "Meum est hoc decus mea est gloria. scilicet inter ethruscos graecis uti carminibus. . . . Fui equidem ipse insuper: qui primus meis sumptibus Homeri libros et alios quosdam graecos in ethruriam reuocaui ex qua multis ante saeculis abierant non redituri" (XV, 7).

With Latin writers he is on more familiar ground. In addition to the many places where he refers to Cicero or Pliny or Macrobius as the authority for his statements, he gives several hundred quotations, ranging in length from a brief phrase to twenty lines or more. Some of these obviously come from secondary sources; others are so accurately placed that there can be no doubt that Boccaccio had held the volume in his own hands: "Lucanus. ubi erictum manes inuocantem describit dicens" (I, Proem); "ut Medae uerbis in tragoedia eiusdem Seneca poeta demonstrat dicens" (XIII, 63); "Virgilius autem eius [*i.e.*, Polyphemi] tam formam quam domum narrante Achimenide: uno ex sociis Ulyssis . . . designat dicens" (X, 14).

In some cases, Boccaccio has begun the quotation and jotted down the number of lines in the passage, evidently intending to come back and finish copying at some later

del Boccaccio, pp. 369-471; Körting, *Geschichte der Literatur Italiens*, II, pp. 378-397.

⁴ Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, pp. 137-157.

date. So we read of Parthenopeus, son of Atalanta, “De pulchritudine huius et matris euentu re cognita eleganter scribit Statius ibi. Pulchrior haud ulli triste discrimen ituro. et infra per octo uersus” (IX, 20); or of the winds, “De quibus aeneidos primo scribit Virgilius. Nymborum in patriam loca foeta furentibus austris. Et infra per duodecim uersus” (IV, 54).

Of all the authors whom Boccaccio has read, Vergil is clearly the best beloved; and the modern reader of the *Genealogia* would fain believe the legend that at Naples, “apud busta Maronis,” this young Italian took the vow to devote his life to letters. *Bucolics*, *Georgics*, and *Aeneid* are quoted in over one hundred different places, and a number of other passages echo the phrasing of the master. The account of the Golden Age (VIII, 1) contains a line and a half from the *Georgics* (I, 126-127), without a hint of quotation; the chapter on Ulysses tells how he and Diomedes stole the white horses of Rhesus “antequam Xanthum gustassent” (XI, 40; cf. *Aen.*, I, 473); and praise of Petrarch can rise no higher than to call him, in the phrase forever associated with the pious Aeneas, “fama super aethera notum” (Gen. Proem; cf. *Aen.*, I, 379).

Next in favor among the poets comes Ovid, with extensive borrowings from *Metamorphoses* and *Fasti*, a couplet from the *Heroides* (IV, 12, 13; cf. *Her.*, XVII, 231-232), and a commonplace from the *Amores* (VIII, 3; cf. *Amor.*, III, 4, 17); then follow the *Thebaid* of Statius, Seneca’s tragedies, Lucan and Claudian. Horace is represented only by the proverbial “quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus” (XV, 4; cf. *Ars Poet.*, 359) and by five quotations from the *Odes* and two from the *Carmen Saeculare*—these last two apparently taken from Servius (IV, 16; V, 3; cf. Serv. ad *Ecl.*, IV, 10; ad *Ecl.*, V, 66)—and there is one surprising omission of his name. Horace alone of extant classical authors tells how Mercury, in the very moment when he was being berated for the theft of Apollo’s cattle, stole the Archer-god’s quiver, and how,

at this second feat, Apollo burst into laughter (*Carm.*, I, 10). Boccaccio's comment on the incident runs: "Dicebat insuper Paulus se alibi legisse: quia mercurius iram prae-cogitans Apollinis ne laedi posset ab eo clam illi phare-tram euacuerat: quod cum aduertisset iratus apollo: mi-ratus eius astutiam risit et in concordiam secum uenit ut supra" (II, 12). Boccaccio quotes from the *Amphitruo*, *Aulularia*, and *Cistellaria* of Plautus, and several times refers to the plot of the first-named play. Borrowings from Terence, on the contrary, are less numerous than we should expect when we remember that a manuscript of that poet (Cod. Laur., xxxviii, 17) closes with the words, "Iohannes de Certaldo scripsit." Boccaccio alludes to the typical Terentian prologue (XIV, 18) and to a character in the *Eunuchus* (XV, 9) and tries to justify the reading of pagan poets with the question, "Nonne etiam ipse dominus et saluator noster multa in parabolis locutus est comico conuenientibus stilo? Nonne et ipse aduersus Paulum prostratum Terentii uerbo usus est? scilicet Durum est tibi contra stimulum calcitrare" (XIV, 18; cf. *Phorm.*, 77-78). Naevius, Accius, Valerius Soranus, Varro Atacinus and Lucretius furnish one or two quotations each—all unquestionably taken from later writers. Martial is quoted only once, but with such circumstantial accuracy as to argue direct acquaintance: "Valerius martialis aepigramatum libro septimo" (III, 20); and the references to Persius and Juvenal, scanty though they are, may have been derived from extended reading of those authors (VI, 53; XI, 2; XIV, 15). The "volumina" of Catullus and Propertius are mentioned in XIV, 16, together with those of Ovid, but there are no quotations from these two poets, nor from Tibullus.

Prose authors, though frequently paraphrased, are less often quoted. Cicero is the source of more than a dozen direct quotations, the elder Pliny and Macrobius of half a dozen each. The references to Cicero, although they include quotations from the *Tusculan Disputations*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Re Publica*, and the

orations *In Verrem* and *Pro Archia*, show little real appreciation of either the author or the man. Indeed, if we except the quotations from the *Archias* in the last two books, they might well date from the early days when Boccaccio took down notes “*avidus potius quam intelligens*” (*cf.* XV, 6) rather than from the period of his mature scholarship. In the case of Livy, we can trace diligent use of that manuscript which even now in the Laurentian Library bears Boccaccio’s annotations. One reference is given with great exactness: “*Titus liuius in libro nono ab urbe condita*” (XI, 43), and, though the actual occurrences of Livy’s name are few, the influence of his colorful style can be detected in nearly every chapter that deals with Roman legend. The account of the reign of Lavinia (VIII, 18; *cf.* Livy, I, 3) echoes Livy’s phrasing, and the story of the deification of Romulus (IX, 41) is given in almost the exact words of Livy, I, 16. Caesar is quoted only once, and, in accordance with a misconception which prevailed for centuries, the sentence is ascribed to “*Iulius Caelsus in libro belli gallici a Caesare confecti*” (VII, 36; *cf.* *Bell. Gall.*, VI, 17). The quotations from Seneca, too, illustrate a current error. Boccaccio regards “*Seneca tragicus*” and “*Seneca philosophus*” as different authors, and carefully adds an epithet or a descriptive phrase to indicate which of the two he means. Of Seneca’s prose works, the *Quaestiones Naturales* are quoted three times, *De Beneficio* once, and *De Sacris Aegyptiorum* once—this last probably from Servius ad *Aen.*, VI, 154. Valerius Maximus, Columella, Apuleius, and Martianus Capella each furnish one or two quotations, and the treatise of Solinus *De Mirabilibus Mundi* is appealed to a number of times. Boccaccio quotes “*Varro. ubi de agricultura*” (XII, 5) and gives summaries of material in the *De Lingua Latina* (II, 62; III, 22)—the latter especially interesting because of the possibility that Boccaccio brought from Monte Cassino the Lombard manuscript from which all our copies of that work are descended. He has made intelligent use of

Pomponius Mela and Vitruvius (*cf.* IX, 33, with Pomp. Mela, I, 19, 103; and IV, 54, with Vitruvius, I, 6, 4-5); and the paraphrase of a chapter of Tacitus which he added in the margin of his manuscript marks an epoch in the history of classical scholarship (III, 23; *cf.* *Hist.*, II, 3).

The *Genealogia* owes much to commentators and encyclopaedists like Servius, Priscian, and Isidore of Seville (who were of course especially valuable because they gave so many extracts from earlier authors) and to the fathers of the church—Lactantius, Augustine, Jerome, Orosius, Boethius. To Lactantius, in particular, he is indebted for many summaries of pagan myths and for the accounts of Saturn, Jupiter and Neptune which he cites from the “*sacra historia*” of Ennius. Biblical stories are frequently mentioned, especially in the marginal additions to the text, and Boccaccio shows familiarity with the wording of the Vulgate and of the Latin church service. Phrases like “*in uiam uniuersae carnis abiere*” (*Ded. Epist.*; *cf.* Josh., XXIII, 14; Is., XL, 6) or “*precioso redempti sanguine*” (III, Proem; XV, 9; *cf.* I Peter, I, 18, 19, and the *Te Deum*) come readily to his pen, and he writes of the nymph Peristera hastening to help Venus gather flowers in the very phrase that must have struck his eyes whenever he opened a Book of Hours (“*in adiutorium Veneris*,” III, 22; *cf.* Ps., XXXVIII, 22—a petition included in the devotions for matins, lauds, prime, etc.).

Boccaccio knows the work of the Arabian astronomer Albumazar, whom he quotes “*in suo maiori introductorio*” (II, 2; VIII, 1) and has at least heard the name of Ali (IX, 4). Dares Phrygius (XII, 12) and Dictys Cretensis (II, 26, 45; V, 36-40) appear on his pages, as do also Anselm (IV, 33, 34; XII, 22), Vincent de Beauvais (VI, 24), and Gervase of Tilbury (II, 19; VII, 25; XII, 22). He derives some points from the thirteenth-century glossators, Papias and Ugucio, and quotes from the ecclesiastical chronicle of Martinus Polonus the tale of the discovery of a gigantic corpse (XII, 60, 67; *cf.* Mart., *sub anno*

1041). Albericus, an author whom Boccaccio highly esteems, may be the third of the Vatican mythographers edited by Mai in 1831; if so, the brief treatise current under the name *Albrici Philosophi De Deorum Imaginibus* is merely an abridgment of Albericus's longer work. Other authorities whom Boccaccio cites are even more shadowy. Theodontius, who is characterized as “harum rerum solertissimus indagator” (IV, 14), and whose name appears more than seventy times in the first four books of the *Genealogia*, was presumably the author of a Latin handbook on mythology somewhat like Boccaccio's own. Boccaccio tells us that in his youth he copied down from the notebooks of Paolo da Perugia “ea quae sub nomine Theodontii apposita sunt” (XV, 6); but elsewhere he speaks as if he himself had access to a manuscript of Theodontius (X, 7). “Pronapides in Protocosmo” seems to have been known to him only through Theodontius (*cf.* I, 3; III, 4); and the total loss of this work should cause us all the keener regret because some of the most picturesque stories in the *Genealogia* are derived from it.

In all this mass of quotation, it is reassuring to discover that, where we can check them up, Boccaccio's citations are in the main correct. Some mistakes are evidently due to corruption in the manuscripts which he used. The name Ocnus is given as Cithoneus (VII, 51; *cf.* Verg., *Aen.*, X, 198), Orphne as Orne (III, 13; *cf.* Ov., *Met.*, V, 539), and the statement that Aeëtes killed his mother Asterie (IV, 11) is based on an incorrect reading in the text of Cicero (*De Nat. Deor.*, III, 19, 48, *matricida* for *matre Idyia*).

In other cases, though Boccaccio is at fault, it is easy to see how the mistake arose. Servius (ad *Ecl.*, IV, 10) had quoted a line from the *Carmen Saeculare*, giving his source simply as “Horatius”; Boccaccio takes over the line and adds “in odis” (IV, 16). In Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (VI, 5, 11) a phrase from the *Aeneid* (X, 215-216) follows directly upon a passage from the *Bacchae* of

Accius; Boccaccio, in quoting the phrase, ascribes it to "Accius poeta in baccis" (IV, 16). That slip we might condone, if only Boccaccio did not follow up the supposed quotation from Accius with the two lines from the *Aeneid*, quoted in full and correctly ascribed to their author.

Elsewhere either Boccaccio's scholarship or his memory is clearly at fault. German scholars have pointed out that he misinterprets Vergil, *Georg.*, I, 277, and Cicero, *Tusc.*, IV, 7, 16, and that his paraphrase of Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, III, 23, 59, shows a misunderstanding of the text.⁵ The brief note on Calatus, supposed brother of Amphion and Zethos (V, 30, 34) is probably due to a confusion of the Homeric pair (*cf. Od.*, XI, 260-262) with the brothers Zetus and Calais mentioned in Ovid, *Met.*, VI, 716, and Servius ad *Georg.*, IV, 462. On the other hand, the assignment of one line of Horace and one line of Ovid to Juvenal (I, 9; II, 4; *cf. Hor.*, *Epist.*, I, 2, 32; *Ov.*, *Met.*, IX, 693), of a couplet of Statius to Ovid (V, 28; *cf. Theb.*, V, 265-266), and of three lines of Ovid to Vergil (VIII, 4; *cf. Met.*, V, 341-343) may merely be proof of the "fluxa memoria" for which Boccaccio apologizes at the beginning of the volume.

In literary appreciation, Boccaccio's work, though it cannot compare with Petrarch's, shows a marked advance over that of the preceding age. The myths are as a rule presented in the barest outline, but now and then Boccaccio lets fall an admiring comment on the literary beauties of his source. He writes of the story of Servius Tullius, "per Titum Liuium stilo egregio narata" (XII, 78), and of the doom of Aeneas, "quod Virgilius eleganter tangit. ubi didonem morituram eum execrantem inducit" (VI, 53). More often we can guess, from the way in which he has handled the story, the appeal that it must have made to his imagination. Even in his meager summary, we catch something of the splendor and the trag-

⁵ Schück, *Zur Charakteristik der italienischen Humanisten*, p. 15; Schöningh, *Die Göttergenealogien des Boccaccio*, pp. 21-22.

edy of the tale of Troy—the bright beauty of Helen (“*Helenam renitentem*,” VI, 22), the glory of Hector, “*iuuenis phama inclyta in nouissimum usque diem forte uicturus*” (VI, 24), and the pathos of the scene where “*miserabilis pater priamus*” sets forth by night to redeem the body of his son (VI, 24). Boccaccio’s indignation flames forth at a slur cast by Lycophron upon the chastity of Penelope: “*Quod absit: ut credam pudicitiam penelopis a tot: tamque egregiis celebratam auctoribus: ab aliquo fuisse maculatam: quicquid Lycophron loquatur maliloquus*” (V, 44). And with a burst of feeling which anticipates the ardent defense of Book XIV he writes of slanderous attacks upon the Muses: “*Vellem ego hos convenire si possem: qui erectis signis aciebusque compositis in musas impetum facere et eas ab eis sumptis armis exterminare si possint conantur insipidi et dum male intellectis uerbis Boetii se armatos existimant in certamen inermes descendunt*” (XI, 2).

No less striking is his sympathy with all living things. Only a man who knew children well and loved them dearly could have added that exquisite comment on the little Astyanax shrinking in terror from Ulysses and turning for protection to his mother, “*ut paruulorum moris est*” (VI, 25). To Boccaccio’s eyes, too, the outer world is full of beauty and meaning. He writes of Night’s “*picta palla*” (I, 9), of the heavenly bodies, “*tam grandia: tam lucida: tam ordinate suo se et alieno motu mouentia*” (III, 22), of the morning star, “*tanto splendore corusca: ut etiam de se merito Lucifer appelletur*” (III, 22). Earth’s turreted crown, of which poets sing, suggests to his fancy a circle of towered cities (III, 2), and the name *Magna Mater* suits her well, because like a great tender mother she nourishes from her abundance all living things and receives them into her bosom at death (I, 8).

Now and then, too, we see hints of the gift that has won Boccaccio the name of “the greatest story-teller in the world.” A single vivid phrase brings before us Eurydice, strolling on the bank of the Hebrus with her

maiden companions (V, 12); old Peleus, with the palsied chill of age upon him (X, 33); Polyphemus roaring with pain, while the Greek sailors troop off merrily to the ship (X, 14). And in one passage, at least, he gives evidence of power over sustained narrative. The story, which records an actual event of the year 1342,⁶ runs as follows:

At the base of the mountain which overlooks Drepanum, not far from the town, some peasants were digging to lay the foundations for a shepherd's hut, when suddenly there came to view the entrance to a cave. They lighted torches and went in eagerly to see what was inside, and found a cavern of enormous height and size. As they advanced, they saw sitting opposite the entrance a gigantic human figure. They fled in terror, nor did they slacken their pace until they came to the town and told all who met them what they had seen. The townspeople in turn were filled with wonder as to what this monstrous thing might be, and seizing lights and weapons, they went out together, over three hundred of them, as if against a foe. They too entered the cave and stood still in amazement at the sight which the peasants had beheld. At last, drawing nearer, they discovered that the figure was not alive, and saw that it was seated with its left hand resting on a staff of such height and thickness that it exceeded the size of any ship's mast ever known. The giant himself was of unparalleled size, and not wasted or shrunken in any part of his body. When one of them put forth his hand and touched the staff, it crumbled to dust, and there remained only a leaden core. The weight of this, as those who saw it testify, was later found to be 15 Drepanese *cintarii*, or 1500 ordinary pounds. The giant's figure, too, crumbled at a touch and turned to dust. But when some of the townsfolk handled this, they found three teeth, still solid, of monstrous size—the weight was 3 *rotuli*, or 100 ounces. These the people of Drepanum fastened together with wire and hung up in the Church of the Annunciation, as a proof of the discovery of the giant and a perpetual memorial to their descendants (IV, 68).

As a collection of tales about gods and heroes, Boccaccio's work does not differ materially from more modern handbooks of classical mythology. The arrangement of

⁶ Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, p. 114.

the tales, however, is necessarily determined by the genealogical plan. Boccaccio's first concern is to find a deity who can stand as the founder of the race; and, with the aid of Theodontius and Lactantius Placidus (ad Stat., *Theb.*, IV, 516), he finally settles on Demogorgon. From the brief characterization in the scholion, “*deum δημιουργόν* [demoirgon, demogorgona MSS.] cuius scire nomen non licet,” he fashions an awe-inspiring figure: “*ueternosus ille deorum omnium gentilium proauus undique stipatus nebulis et caligine . . . Demogorgon. nomine ipso horribilis: pallore quodam muscoso. et neglecta humiditate amictus: terrestrem tetrum: foetidumque euaporans odorem*” (I, Proem). His dwelling is a cave in the bowels of the earth; Eternity and Chaos are his consorts, and Discord (Litigium), the Fates, Earth, and Erebus are numbered among his children. Earth brings forth Night and Rumor (Fama), and from Aether, son of Erebus, springs a long line of gods and heroes.

The greater divinities—Aether, Caelum, Titan, Oceanus, Saturn, Juno, Neptune, and Jupiter—form the main branches of the family tree, and minor figures are grouped around them with tolerable success. Inconsistencies of course are bound to occur; but some of these Boccaccio avoids, as Cicero had done before him, by assuming two or more gods of the same name. Thus he recognizes three Jupiters, four Minervas, three Venuses, and three gods named Dionysus, besides a Liber and a Bacchus. In the confusion that has arisen through misspellings of Tethys and Thetis, he takes pains to distinguish between “*Tethys maior*,” daughter of Caelum and mother of the nymphs, and “*Tethys minor*,” daughter of Nereus and mother of Achilles (III, 3; cf. VII, 16). Elsewhere he merely notes a difficulty, and leaves the reader to decide whether the divinity in question is male or female, and which form of the name is correct (Fatum or Parca, I, 5; Triton or Tritona, VII, 7).

Together with the familiar deities we also find some that are less well known. From the *Protocosmos* of

Pronapides, Boccaccio borrows Polus, the heaven, child of Demogorgon, who caught sparks of light from Demogorgon's forge and bore them aloft to adorn his dwelling (I, 6), and Phython (*i.e.*, Phaëthon), the sun, a molten mass from Acroceraunia, hammered solid on Mount Caucasus, plunged into the Indian Ocean, and then whirled into the sky, whence it blazes down upon the world (I, 7). A gloss on the *Thebaid* may have been his source for the charming story of the nymph Peristera, who, when Venus and Cupid one day engaged in playful rivalry to see which could gather the most flowers, came to the aid of Venus, and as punishment was changed by Cupid into a dove (III, 22; *cf.* Lact. Plac. ad Stat., *Theb.*, IV, 226).

Some well-known figures have suffered a slight change. Pegasus has become the steed of Perseus, as well as of Bellerophon (X, 27); Bellona, the Roman goddess of war, is identified with Minerva (V, 48; *cf.* IX, 3); and the woman for love of whom Hercules lays aside his lion-skin and club and takes up the distaff is no longer Omphale, but Iole (XIII, 1).

In some cases, Boccaccio seems to have arbitrarily altered details in order to make the story more reasonable. Medea's rival meets her death in a conflagration which wraps the whole palace in flame (IV, 12); Deianeira takes as a love-charm, not poisoned blood from the wound of the centaur Nessus, but the garment which Nessus wears (IX, 17, 31); Ulysses and his companions, instead of clinging to the bellies of the sheep in order to make their escape from the cave of Polyphemus, cover themselves with skins and crawl out on all fours (X, 14).

As a rule, however, Boccaccio merely records the changes that have taken place in the myths in the course of centuries—many of them going back to Servius or Lactantius Placidus, and nearly all adding to the romantic coloring of the story. He writes of Hymenaeus, no longer simply the god of marriage, "with saffron robe and taper clear," but a lowborn youth who loves a noble Athenian maiden and wins her as his bride by rescuing

her and the other girls of the city from pirates (V, 26; *cf.* Serv. ad *Aen.*, I, 651; IV, 99; Lact. Plac. ad Stat., *Theb.*, III, 283). He tells how Paris, who had been exposed at birth and brought up among the shepherds, won a victory over Hector in an athletic contest, and then proved his identity by means of *crepundia* (VI, 22; *cf.* Serv. ad *Aen.*, V, 370); how Priam tried to bring his sister Hesione back to Troy, and, failing to recover her, sent an expedition of twenty ships which carried off Helen (VI, 8, 14, 22; *cf.* Serv. ad *Aen.*, X, 91; Lact. Plac. ad Stat., *Ach.*, I, 397); how Hecuba lured Achilles to the temple of Apollo under the pretext that he should meet Polyxena there, and how Paris, hiding behind a pillar, shot him down (VI, 21; XII, 52; *cf.* Serv. ad *Aen.*, VI, 57; Lact. Plac. ad Stat., *Ach.*, I, 134).

Now and then a naïve touch transports a story from remote antiquity to the courtly setting of the Middle Ages. According to Boccaccio, Helen won the heart of Paris, not by her beauty alone, but by her sprightly conversation (“pulchritudine et facetiis,” XI, 8). Tydeus and Polynices must have entered Argos after the fashion of mediæval knights; for we read that Tydeus, on arriving at the palace, found that Polynices had taken refuge in the portico before him, “et equum suum locauerat” (IX, 21). Most striking of all is the transformation of Pallas, son of Evander, the gallant youth whose death at the hands of Turnus caused such grief to all the Arcadians (Verg., *Aen.*, X, 431-509). In mediæval story, Pallas has become a giant tall enough to tower above the walls of Rome, whose body, still uncorrupted and bearing in its side a gash more than four feet long, was discovered with a taper burning at its head and the inscription:

Filius Euandri Pallas: quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo iacet hic (XII, 60, 67).⁷

⁷ Boccaccio names Martinus as his source. *Cf.* p. 332, above. The same tale is found in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, II, 206, and in the *Gesta Romanorum*, 158; one detail of this story appears in the account of Vergil's miracles in the *Image du Monde*, II, 13.

The stories which Boccaccio had collected were read with great avidity. Manuscripts of the *Genealogia Deorum* multiplied even before the invention of printing, and eight editions of the Latin text appeared between 1472 and 1532. Translations were made into Italian, French, and Spanish, and, although no English translation is extant, the influence of the work can be traced in English poetry from the time of Chaucer. Details in the stories of Phyllis and Ariadne (*Hous of Fame*, I, 388-396; 405-426; *Legend of Good Women*, 2394-2561, 1886-2227) seem to come from the *Genealogia* (XI, 25, 29, 30) rather than from Ovid's account of these heroines, and Chaucer's conception of Bellona (*Anelida and Arcite*, 1-5) and of the "mighty god of Love" (*Hous of Fame*, I, 137-138; *Legend*, Prol. B, 226-240) may have been shaped by Boccaccio.⁸ Lydgate, after referring several times to "Iohn Bochas" (*De Claris Mulieribus* and *De Genealogia Deorum*?) as the authority for his *Siege of Thebes*, closes his account of Lycurgus with the words:

Of lygurgus 3e gete no more of me.
But the trouth 3if 3e lyst verryfie,
Rede of goddës the Genologye,
Lynealy her kynrede be degrees,
I-braunchëd out vpon tweluë trees,
Mad by Bochas decertaldo called,
Among Poetys in ytaille stalled,
Next Fraunceys Petrak swyng in certyn.

(III, 3536-3543). Spenser, like Chaucer, identifies Pallas and Bellona (*Shepheards Calender*, October, 114; *Faerie Queene*, III, 9, 22, edition of 1590), and both he and Shakespeare picture Perseus as mounted on Pegasus when he goes to the rescue of Andromeda (*Ruines of Time*, 646-649; *Henry V*, III, vii, 22; cf. *I Henry IV*, IV, i, 109). There are obvious reminiscences of the first book of the *Genealogia Deorum* in Spenser's description of

⁸ Child, "Chaucer's Legend of Good Women," *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XI, 1896, pp. 476-490; Lounsbury, *Studies in Chaucer*, II, pp. 231-233.

The bottome of the deepe Abyssc
Where Demogorgon, in dull darknesse pent
Farre from the view of gods and heavens bliss
The hideous Chaos keepes.

(*Faerie Queene*, IV, 2, 47), and in Duessa's address to Night:

O! thou most auncient grandmother of all,
More old than Jove, whom thou at first didst breede,
Or that great house of gods caelestiall,
Which wast begot in Daemogorgons hall.

(*Faerie Queene*, I, 5, 22). Milton, too, tells how Satan beheld the throne of Chaos and

Sable-vested Night, eldest of things,
The consort of his reign; and by them stood
Orcus and Ades, and the dreaded name
Of Demogorgon; Rumor next, and Chance,
And Tumult, and Confusion, all embroiled,
And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

(*Paradise Lost*, II, 962-967). And in Shelley's *Prometheus Unbound*, the name Demogorgon is given to the dread power that rises from the abyss to pronounce the doom of Jove.

So, even though the gracious sovereign to whom he dedicated the volume and the generation of readers for whose instruction he compiled the myths have long since gone the way of all the earth, Boccaccio's work still lives. And if in the mass of petty details, the inconsistencies and absurdities that crowd its pages, we lose sight of the genuine love of learning that inspired it, we should remember the author's one claim to fame, in the verses which he composed for his own tombstone:

Hac sub mole jacent cineres ac ossa Johannis;
Mens sedet ante Deum meritis ornata laborum
Mortalis vitae. Genitor Bocchacius illi;
Patria Certaldum, studium fuit alma poesis.

CLASSICAL ELEMENTS IN THE
GESTA ROMANORUM



BY ELLA BOURNE

CLASSICAL ELEMENTS IN THE *GESTA ROMANORUM*

THE popularity of the *Gesta Romanorum* during the Middle Ages is abundantly shown by the enormous number of manuscripts which are still to be found in the libraries of England and of continental Europe. Its importance for the history of literature, particularly since the thirteenth century, can be no less clearly seen by a glance at the tables at the end of Oesterley's critical Latin edition in which are listed, under the number of each tale, writings which have in whole or in part been influenced by the *Gesta*, or in some cases have perhaps had a common source. The list of such titles sometimes numbers forty for one tale, often as many as thirty. That the list is not complete goes without saying, although Oesterley has carefully compiled works cited by previous editors and has added many from his own observation.

This collection of tales from classical, oriental, and unknown sources, with a moralization in the form of an allegory attached to each, was evidently first compiled as a help for preachers, who used them to add force and interest to their sermons, perhaps even to arouse their hearers from drowsiness. Honorius of Autun in the sermon which he published for use on Septuagesima Sunday showed his sympathy for weary parishioners by recalling that some of them had come from a great distance and would have a long journey home again; that others might have guests or crying babies waiting for them. It was at this point that he counseled the preacher to use a story with an allegory. "*Haec saepius intermisce sermonibus tuis. Nam huiusmodi verbis eis fastidium tollis.*"¹ That the cus-

¹ *Speculum Ecclesiae. Dominica Septuagesima*, Migne, *Patrologia*, 172,

tom persisted even into the Renaissance is clear from the words of Erasmus ridiculing the clergy: "Hic mihi stultam aliquam et indoctam fabulam, ex *Speculo* opinor *Historiali*, aut *Gestis Romanorum* in medium adferunt, et eandem interpretantur allegorice, tropologice, et anagogice."²

The date of the compilation of these tales has been rather generally conceded to be the latter part of the thirteenth or the first years of the fourteenth century. It is evident at least, as Oesterley points out, that considerable time must have elapsed between the date of compilation and the middle of the fourteenth century, by which time there had already come to be a great diversity among the manuscripts.

The oldest edition, which is in Latin and contains one hundred and fifty or one hundred and fifty-one tales, was published at Utrecht some time previous to 1473, probably in 1472. A second edition in this same form was printed at Cologne soon afterward. The collection was almost immediately increased to one hundred and eighty-one tales, and was published at Cologne only two or three years after the *editio princeps*. This is the form, usually called the Vulgate, in which the tales were to appear many times both in Latin editions and in translations.

An edition in German containing ninety-five tales was published but once, at Augsburg, in 1489. Many of the stories were identical with those of the Latin edition, although the order in which they appeared was different; others were entirely new.

An edition in English containing only forty-three numbers was first published by Wynkin de Worde at London in 1510-1515. It contained some tales not in the Latin edition, the order was different, and there were also deviations in those tales which were in substance the same as

Paris, 1854, cols. 855-856. See H. O. Taylor, *The Mediæval Mind*, London, 1911, II, p. 57.

² *Stultitiæ Laus*, London, 1777, LIV. See Douce, *Illustrations of Shakespeare*, London, 1839, p. 523.

those of the Latin version. This early English edition, although of importance and interest in the history and transmission of the *Gesta*, added nothing new, for it was some time later identified as a translation of a Latin manuscript, Harl. 5369, in London. During the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as Herrtage in the introduction to his edition for the Early English Text Society shows, this translation was brought into prominence by a man named Richard Robinson, who, finding it "both of imperfect phrase in the historie and of indecent application in the moralitie," modernized the language and changed the application to suit his own idea of propriety. His title-page read as follows: "A record of Ancyent Historyes, intituled in Latin *Gesta Romanorum*, translated (auctore, ut supponitur, Johane Leylando, antiquario); by mee perused, corrected, and bettered." It is this work of Robinson's, the first edition of which was published in 1577, the seventh in 1601, that is quoted by many writers of the Elizabethan Age. For the period extending from this time up to the early years of the nineteenth century there are listed in Hazlitt's *Handbook to Early English Literature* fourteen editions, a list which is doubtless incomplete.

In 1842 Swan's translation of the Vulgate appeared. Four years before this Sir Frederic Madden had edited for the Roxburghe Club the *Early English Version of the Gesta Romanorum* based on three manuscripts which contained old English translations probably made in the time of Henry VI. This work was in 1879 reëdited for the Early English Text Society by Sidney J. H. Herrtage, who added short sketches of all the tales which do not occur in the three English manuscripts.

In 1872, seven years before the reëditing of the old English translations, there had appeared at Berlin, edited by Hermann Oesterley, a critical Latin edition of the one hundred and eighty-one stories of the Vulgate with an appendix containing tales found only in certain continental manuscripts and not included in the Vulgate, the Latin manuscripts of England, or the English translations. The

volume also contains a tabulation of all the manuscripts consulted, with a rubric or heading sufficient to indicate in general the content of each tale. This is by far the most important edition of recent years, prepared as it was after the discovery and careful examination of many manuscripts.

The manuscripts are almost all written in Latin. Of the one hundred and thirty-eight listed by Oesterley all are Latin with the exception of twenty-four German and three English; the last, however, are not original versions but the old English translations which were edited by Madden and Herrtage. It is to be noted that of this large number of manuscripts and of a few others which have been found at different places in Austria very few are copies; by far the larger number show some definite independence either in the tales which they include, or in the version of either the tale or the moralization. It is also a rather startling fact that no manuscript has yet been discovered which is the original of the earliest Latin edition or of the Vulgate.

In regard to the early history of the work Oesterley, who believes that he detected traces of English origin in some of the oldest manuscripts, is of the opinion that the tales were first compiled in England; that this collection found its way to the continent, where it was changed to some extent and additions were made; that when on the invention of printing the *editio princeps* and the Vulgate were published, these editions appeared in England so soon as to make an English edition unnecessary, and to crowd into the background the manuscripts in England, which had kept a rather distinct character of their own.

The importance of the *Gesta Romanorum* as a source of literary productions will be indicated to some extent by the names of Chaucer, Hoccleve, Lydgate, Shakespeare, Parnell and Horace Walpole, all of whom have come within its influence. On the other hand, the tales are no less important and interesting in their relation to the sources from which they themselves were derived.

The work is also significant because it is highly indicative of the mediæval character. The mediæval attitude towards life is to be seen on almost every page, an attitude which made this world appear of little value in comparison with the world to come; which made man scorn his body in order to exalt his soul, and see in every tendency to wrong, even in every bodily desire, the temptation of a very personal devil. Reverence for the classics is to be seen, and yet with this reverence a determination to use them for moral ends only. The tendency to allegory so characteristic of all mediæval thought is of course exemplified to the highest degree in a collection of tales whose avowed end was to teach by allegory. Finally, as an illustration of the mingling of classical and mediæval, the tales are often instructive and interesting.

It is the chief purpose of the present writer to trace the classical element in these tales, as they appear in the Vulgate, in order to determine in how far the title of *Gesta Romanorum* is fitting.

Of the classical authors, Seneca Rhetor is the most commonly used, thirteen of the tales (2-7, 14, 73, 90, 100, 112, 116, 134) being taken directly from his *Controversiae*. They show almost no deviation from the original, and therefore offer little that is interesting in the way of comparison between classical and mediæval treatment. From their mere number, however, and also from their peculiarly unchanged form, they represent an important group in the composition of the *Gesta*. The fact that some of the same stories appear in Holkot's *Moralitates* was one of the important reasons for suspecting the direct influence of Holkot on the *Gesta*. If, however, the manuscript found after the completion of Oesterley's work and referred to in only two enthusiastic pages of a *Nachtrag* is to be trusted, either the tables are reversed and Holkot must have drawn some of his material from the *Gesta*, or there must have been a third work which served as a common source. The manuscript in question, which was found in Austria, contains many of the characteristic stories of

the *Moralitates*; it is dated 1342, thus being too early to have been influenced to any extent by a work of the Englishman, Holkot, who seems to have been still in his prime in 1349, the year of his death.

One of the *Gesta* from the Seneca group may be taken as somewhat typical of them all, Vulgate 90, which is based on Seneca, *Exc. Contr.*, VI, 3. According to Seneca a man whose elder son is legitimate, the younger born of a slave woman, decrees that at his death the elder son shall divide the inheritance into two parts, and the younger son shall choose the one he wishes. The elder puts into one part his brother's mother, into the other the rest of the inheritance. The younger chooses his mother. The tale in the *Gesta*, with a few extraneous remarks, repeats practically the same story as that given by Seneca. The moralization is typical of a large class in that the allegorical interpretation ignores one feature of the original story. The father is God; the legitimate son, born in freedom and co-eternal with the father, is Christ; the son born of a slave is man, whose body is of the earth and who, since he was produced in time and not in eternity, is, of course, the younger. Christ divides the inheritance, placing in one part the earth (the mother of the illegitimate son) and all things earthly, in the other part heaven and all things heavenly. If a man chooses his mother, that is, earthly things, he will miss his heavenly inheritance. Christ cannot be accused since the decision lies not with the one who divides but with the one who chooses. The allegory thus passes over a point which was most important in the original story, namely, that the older son cheated his brother in order to have all the inheritance for himself.

It is noteworthy that in only one of the thirteen tales which come from Seneca does the Vulgate cite him as the source. It is also to be noted that the influence of the Seneca group on later literature has been very slight, a fact which is sufficiently explained by the rather bare legal outline which is apparent in each of the tales.

I have been able to find only one other trace of Seneca Rhetor. In tale 166 he is given as authority for the statement, "Mulieres que malam faciem habent, leves et impudicae sunt; non enim illis deest animus, sed corruptor." The words are practically those of Seneca (*Exc. Contr.*, II, 1) except that, with the commonplace seriousness characteristic of the *Gesta*, the words "leves et impudicae sunt" have been substituted for the satirical "saepe pudicae sunt" of the original.³ In tale 60 there is a quotation incorrectly attributed to Seneca.

The most popular classical source for the stories of the *Gesta* outside of the Seneca group is the *Facta et Dicta Memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. Four tales (50, 52, 53, 149) are correctly attributed to Valerius, and several others are manifestly taken from him. One of the four (Val. Max., IV, 8, 1; *Gest. Rom.*, 52) is of especial interest because of its marked verbal similarities to the classical original. The story is that of Fabius, the famous Roman general, who, when the senate refused to grant the money which he had promised as a ransom for Roman captives, sold his own estate in order to redeem his promise. Livy, who seems to have first recorded the story, says, "Inviolatum ab hoste agrum . . . vendidit." Valerius says, "Fundum, quem unicum possidebat, vendidit." The words in the *Gesta* are, "Ipse fundum unicum habens vendidit." The allegorical interpretation here is brief and to the point: Fabius is Christ, who redeems the Roman captives, that is, the human race, from Hannibal, who is the devil, at the cost not of his estate but of his life.

The treatment of another of the four stories cited from Valerius (VI, 2, Ext. 2; *Gest. Rom.*, 53) shows the characteristic lack of humor in the *Gesta*, although it is perhaps not to be expected that humor which would be difficult to transfer to the allegory should be recognized. Valerius tells of an old woman at Syracuse who, when everyone else was praying for release from the intolerable burden

³ For other classical quotations in tale 166 see pp. 360, 361, 365, 370.

of the tyrant Dionysius, was in the habit of offering each morning prayers for his safety. When Dionysius heard of this, he sent for her and asked why she did it. She replied that when she was a girl they had a tyrant whom she longed to be rid of; but after he died they had a worse one. Again she hoped for the end of the reign, but when it came they had a tyrant who was worse still. Therefore, fearing that if Dionysius were taken away, someone more terrible would succeed to the power, she prayed most earnestly for his safety. Valerius adds, "Tam facetam audaciam Dionysius punire erubuit." The author of the *Gesta*, however, passes over the humor, if he saw it, and seriously ends his tale with the sentence, "Dionysius hec audiens amplius molestiam non fecit." In this tale, also, verbal similarities between the Latin of the *Gesta* and that of Valerius are to be seen.

Five other stories are probably from Valerius, although no source is given. One of these (Val. Max., V, 9, 4; *Gest. Rom.*, 9) follows the version of Valerius very closely, and is, so far as I know, found in no other classical writer. Tale 29 (Val. Max., VI, 3, Ext. 3) is found in substantially the same form in Herodotus (V, 25), from whom it may have come to Valerius. Another tale (Val. Max., I, 1, Ext. 3; *Gest. Rom.*, 8) is in like manner found in an earlier author (Cic., *N.D.*, III, 34, 83-84). This story as given in the *Gesta* presents some curious deviations from its classical prototype, which told of the shameless way in which Dionysius, the Syracusan tyrant, had plundered the temples of the gods. As is often the case in the transfer of a classical story to the *Gesta*, the historical setting is lost. The three particular gods and the definite shrines from which Dionysius carried off plunder become three images, presumably of women, which Emperor Leo had caused to be placed in a temple because he took special pleasure in feminine beauty. The inscription suggested by the words of Cicero and Valerius Maximus, "in his more Graeciae scriptum erat bonorum deorum esse," becomes in the version of the *Gesta* three inscriptions, one

for each of the statues. The account of the second theft must have brought a smile to the faces of the congregation, although there is no hint of anything but utter seriousness in the way the story is told. According to the classical account Dionysius had carried off the golden beard from the statue of Aesculapius on the ground that it was not becoming that the son should have a beard when his father Apollo had none. The writer of the tale in the *Gesta*, regardless of the fact that he had made his statues women, has his tyrant steal a beard and offer the same excuse for the act.

A tale which seems to be from Valerius (V, 6, Ext. 1; *Gest. Rom.*, 41) is the story of the Athenian Codrus who sacrificed his life to gain the victory for his people in response to an oracle which had declared that that side should win whose chief fell at the hands of the enemy. The sorrow over the death of Codrus, which was equal among the Athenians and their enemies, is paralleled in the allegory by the consternation which at the death of Christ fell alike upon his disciples and upon the demons.

Finally, from Valerius (IX, 2, Ext. 9; *Gest. Rom.*, 48) probably comes the famous story of King Phalaris and the brazen bull, a story which is found in a long line of classical authors from Pindar down to Silius Italicus and Lucian. Among this host of authorities it is impossible to fix with certainty upon the one which is followed by the *Gesta*. The tale itself cites "Dyonisius" as authority. It is possible that Dionysius of Halicarnassus may have told the story in the part of his *Roman Archaeology* now lost, although the part extant covers the time of Phalaris. It may well be that a popular version which was a composite of many earlier accounts furnished the material to the compiler of the tales. The story, however, as given in the *Gesta*, conforms a trifle more nearly in its details to the version of Valerius Maximus than to that of any other classical writer whose account of the incident is extant.⁴

⁴ For another allusion to victims thrown into a brazen bull to be burnt alive see tale 110.

One of the few exact quotations from a classical author to be found in the *Gesta* occurs at the close of this story. The expression, "ut dicit Ovidius," which follows a general expression of opinion, gives no boundaries to the quotation. The sentiment, however, is that of Ovid, and embedded in one of the sentences is a pentameter from the *Ars Amatoria* (I, 656) written as prose and possibly not recognized as poetry.

The moralization of this same tale contains one of the very few instances of criticism or even mention of the social order of the times; it was the relation of man to God, not the matter of justice between man and man, that was usually considered important in the *Gesta*. In reference to the unreal character given to the voices of the victims enclosed in the brazen bull, the writer of the allegory says, "Non creditur esse vox humana, quia clamorem pauperis potentes non libenter audiunt, sed dicunt: 'Servus aut rusticus est, omnia sua sunt mea.' "

In contrast to the nine tales which are with more or less certainty to be ascribed to Valerius Maximus there is one (*Gest. Rom.*, 42) in which Valerius is given as the source for a story which does not appear in his writings and which seems foreign to his usual subject matter.

Tale 33 is also referred to Valerius but in this case, seemingly, the compiler of the *Gesta* does not mean Valerius Maximus, but the author of a work entitled *Valerius ad Rufinum de non ducenda Uxore*, which is attributed to Walter Mapes. The work, which is listed by Oesterley, has not been published, but according to Thomas Wright (*Latin Poems of Walter Mapes*, p. ix) there are manuscripts of it in the British Museum and elsewhere. I have no detailed account of its contents, but from the fact that it was often classed with the mediæval poem, *Goliath de coniuge non ducenda*, which is a gross attack on women, it would seem a very likely place in which to find tale 33. The story thus attributed to Valerius, and probably from a pseudo-Valerius of the Middle Ages, is really classical in origin, being found in Quin-

tilian (*Inst.*, VI, 3, 88) who quotes from Cicero (*De Or.*, II, 69, 278).

Saint Augustine, the only one of the Church Fathers to be cited by the *Gesta* except in the allegories, is the probable source of three or four of the tales, two of which are definitely attributed to him. In the first (*Aug.*, *Civ. Dei*, XVIII, 5; *Gest. Rom.*, 22) Augustine is quoting from Varro as he indicates. In the second (*Aug.*, *Civ. Dei*, IV, 4; *Gest. Rom.*, 146) he is perhaps using Cicero (*Rep.*, III, 14, 24). This second tale is followed by one of the few moralizations which were addressed to the clergy and were probably not used in general sermons. The story tells of a pirate who, when he was asked by Alexander the Great why he troubled the sea, retorted by asking Alexander why *he* troubled the land. Furthermore because the pirate had but one ship he was called a robber, whereas Alexander with his multitude of ships was called an *imperator*. In the allegory the prelate, who takes the place of Alexander, is warned lest he be found worse than the one whom he attempts to correct.

A third tale from Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, XVI, 8; *Gest. Rom.*, 176) has no special point of interest except for the quotation in the allegory of four lines (6-9) from Vergil's Fourth Eclogue—the same four lines which are so often quoted during the Middle Ages, and even later, because of their supposed reference to a prophecy of the coming of the Messiah. Here, as often, they are compared with a passage from Isaiah. From the fact that the lines are said to belong to the *Second* Bucolic, and from two bad mistakes in the Latin, it seems that the writer was repeating what he had heard many times, rather than what he had himself read.⁵

A fourth tale (*Aug.*, *Civ. Dei*, I, 19; *Gest. Rom.*, 135) is interesting in that it cites Augustine as its source, but really follows the account given by Livy (I, 57-59) rather than the more meager account of Augustine. There are

⁵ In regard to the source of the latter part of tale 176 see p. 356 of this article.

even some verbal similarities to Livy's Latin. The story is the famous one of Lucretia and the son of King Tarquin, which had been told by many writers, but perhaps by none so vividly as by the great chronicler of the regal period of Rome. It was evidently Livy's story that was familiar, even though the writer of the tale had lost sight of Livy himself. Tale 23, which is said to be from "Beatus Augustinus," I have not been able to locate. The quotations, which are occasionally to be found in the allegories, from Augustine and also from Gregory and Ambrose, show a rather general familiarity with the Church Fathers.

Pliny the Elder is cited as authority in four tales, in each of which the material is like Pliny's usual stock in trade, that is, curious phenomena of the natural world, such as men with dogs' heads, and stones which can turn aside poison emitted by serpents. Number 175 might have been taken from Pliny or Saint Augustine, but Pliny (*N.H.*, VII, 23-30) is at least the ultimate source. Number 176 cites Pliny as authority for the latter part of the story, but the passage in Pliny (*N.H.*, XXIX, 74-76) which is nearest in thought varies considerably from the version in the *Gesta*.⁶ In tale 37 the similarity to the passage most resembling it (*N.H.*, XXXVI, 149) is slight.⁷ Tale 139 does not profess to come from Pliny but bears some resemblance to an anecdote related by him (*N.H.*, VIII, 78). Two others (92, 181) are plainly from Pliny. An immediate source for 181 (Plin., *N.H.*, VIII, 42) and for 82, which is much like it, may have been the *De Animalibus* of Albertus Magnus.

Tale 92, which differs from the others in that it is concerned with an event of human interest, is the often-told story of Tiberius Gracchus, husband of Cornelia, who chose to bring death upon himself rather than upon his wife. The story is told by Cicero, Pliny, Valerius Maximus, Aurelius Victor and Plutarch. A comparison of all

⁶ For other points in regard to tale 176 see pp. 355, 365, of this article.

⁷ For tale 150 see p. 358, of this article.

the versions points to Pliny (*N.H.*, VII, 122) as the source of the tale in the *Gesta*.

In the allegory of tale 17 Pliny is given as the authority for a statement in regard to the habits of fish which I have not been able to locate, although it is such as one would expect to find in the *Natural History*. One suspects that it became the habit to credit all accounts of the curious in nature to Pliny regardless of any question of authenticity.

Frontinus is the source of three tales, two of which (*Fron., Strat.*, III, 13, 7-8; *Gest. Rom.*, 38. *Fron., Strat.*, II, 5, 12; *Gest. Rom.*, 88), so far as their essential points are concerned, might have come from other classical writers, but a comparison of the versions in the *Gesta* with possible sources shows that they are both nearer to Frontinus. The first of these tales, which tells of carrier-pigeons at the siege of Mutina, is assigned to the time of Emperor Henry II. The third tale (*Fron., Strat.*, III, 6, 7; *Gest. Rom.*, 152) is found in no other classical author. In no case is Frontinus given as authority.

Two tales are from Seneca the philosopher, one from the *Naturales Quaestiones* (II, 31; *Gest. Rom.*, 32), which is credited to Seneca, the other from his ethical writings (*De Ira*, I, 18; *Gest. Rom.*, 140). We might have expected a greater use of the *Naturales Quaestiones*, since it was a rather common textbook in the Middle Ages. The physical world, however, was not a favorite source for the *Gesta*; stories of the conduct of men lent themselves more readily to a moralization, and were no doubt more easily understood by the preacher's audience. And yet on the ground of adaptability to an allegory it is hard to see exactly why the moralizer chose the Seneca anecdote which tells of the hard judgment of Cn. Piso, who never allowed his decrees to be changed. He sentenced a soldier to death on the suspicion that he had been the cause of the death of a fellow soldier who had not returned from an expedition with him. When the soldier entrusted with the execution of the sentence was leading the condemned

man to death, the missing friend appeared; whereupon they hastened back to the judge, who, instead of revoking the sentence, condemned all three to death—the first because he had once been sentenced, the second on the ground that he was the cause of his friend's death, and the third because he had not carried out the order given him. This story is given by Seneca as an illustration of an unjust judgment pronounced in anger. To Chaucer also, who quotes the story in his "Somnours Tale," and cites Seneca as its source, the act is one of an "irous potestat." But to the writer of the *Gesta*, Eraclitus, who takes the place of Cn. Piso, is a just judge who can be turned from his course by neither prayers nor bribes. In the moralization difficulties arise: the just judge is Christ, the two soldiers are the body and the soul, the third soldier, who did not carry out the sentence, is a negligent prelate; but in what way their actions can be compared to those of the characters in the original story is far from clear.

The two tales from Justinus, of the Spartan Demaratus in exile at the court of Xerxes (Just., II, 10; *Gest. Rom.*, 21) and of Lycurgus the lawgiver (Just., III, 3; *Gest. Rom.*, 169), are both well-known old stories that had appeared in many writers from Herodotus down, but their faithfulness to Justinus can be easily seen. The latter tale in particular shows marked similarities in the Latin. The first tale is cited from Justinus; the second is said to come from Pompeius Trogus, a practical equivalent of Justinus, whose work was an abridgment of the earlier writer.

Of the two tales taken from Solinus, the first (Solinus, 45, 8; *Gest. Rom.*, 36) is credited to him, the second (Solinus, 5, 20; *Gest. Rom.*, 150) is incorrectly ascribed to Pliny, no doubt because of its general resemblance to Pliny's usual subject matter.

Macrobius also furnishes two tales, one of which (Macr., II, 4, 27; *Gest. Rom.*, 87) is unusually well-adapted to an allegory. A veteran from the Battle of Actium when brought to trial for an offense asked Augustus to appear

in his behalf. Augustus said he would send an advocate to help him. Whereupon the old soldier dramatically tore aside his garments to display the scars from wounds which he had received fighting for Augustus, and declared that *he* had not sent a substitute. The tale in the *Gesta* follows the story of Macrobius closely except that all proper names are omitted. The fact that an anecdote somewhat like this, although plainly not the original of the *Gesta* story, was told by Seneca (*Ben.*, V, 24) about Julius Caesar may have been the cause for the confusion of some mediæval writers who have related the Augustus story but connected it with Julius Caesar. Hoccleve, who thus blunders (*Reg. Prin.*, 3270-3297), seemingly was following Jacobus de Cessolis, who in turn says that he took the story from John of Salisbury.⁸ However, John of Salisbury (*Policraticus*, III, 14) gives the Macrobius story, and plainly states that the emperor was Augustus Caesar. More probable, therefore, than a confusion of the Seneca and Macrobius stories seems the possibility that the mediæval writers took the story from Macrobius or John of Salisbury and carelessly, perhaps ignorantly, assumed that the Caesar mentioned was Julius, and with equal ease changed "bellum Actiacum" to "bellum Asiaticum." In any case it seems clear that in this instance Hoccleve and Jacobus de Cessolis did not follow the tale in the *Gesta*, which because of its omissions could have suggested to them neither the emperor's name nor the name of the war in which the veteran had fought.

The second tale from Macrobius (I, 6, 20-25; *Gest. Rom.*, 126) is the old story of the Roman youth Papirius who refused to betray to his mother the secrets of the senate, but invented an account of how the senators had considered whether it were better for one man to have two wives, or for one woman to have two husbands. One cannot profess to see the mediæval attitude towards

⁸ See F. Aster, *Das Verhaeltniss des Altenglischen Gedichtes "De Regimine Principum"* von Thomas Hoccleve zu seinen Quellen, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 44-45.

women in a story which is at least as old as Cato, and has not ceased to have its analogues in modern times. But the allegory carries the matter a bit farther: man is "ratio," while women are "diversa vicia carnalis dilectationis." Verbal similarities indicate how close is the connection between the tale in the *Gesta* and Macrobius. The phrase in Macrobius, "verecundi sexus impudicam insaniam," appears with slight change as "in verecundo sexu tam impudicam insaniam." In tale 40 Macrobius is cited incorrectly.

Five of the *Gesta* are from the realm of classical fable.⁹ The moralization of the first of these shows the critical attitude towards the clergy which is apparent elsewhere. The fable tells of a donkey who makes a ludicrous and unsuccessful attempt to gain as much favor from the king, his master, as he sees bestowed upon some much-loved dogs. To the moralizer the king is Christ, the dogs are the preachers who pronounce the word of God well and are worthy to rest in his bosom; the donkey is one who presumes to the office of preacher, "tamen litterarum nec gratiam ad hoc habet."

Ovid, Lucan, Suetonius, and Aulus Gellius seem to be authorities each for one tale. For the story of Ulysses finding Achilles at the court of King Lycomedes, which is cited from Ovid (*Met.*, XIII, 162-172; *Gest. Rom.*, 156), the writer by giving details not mentioned by Ovid shows plainly that he knew other sources—a fact which is not surprising in the case of such a common story. There are in the course of the *Gesta* two correct quotations from Ovid. The pentameter from the *Ars Amatoria* in tale 48 has already been mentioned in the discussion of that story under Valerius Maximus. In tale 166 occur two lines written as poetry and said to be from Ovid, only the second

⁹ Aesop. Kor., 212, Fur., 367; Babr., 129; *Gest. Rom.*, 79.

Aesop. Kor., 358, Fur., 356; Babr., 95; *Gest. Rom.*, 83.

Aesop. Kor., 141, Fur., 42; *Gest. Rom.*, 141.

Aesop. Kor., 170, Fur., 130; Phaedrus, IV, 18; *Gest. Rom.*, 174.

Aesop. Kor., 130, Fur., 34; Babr., 9; cf. Herod., I, 141; *Gest. Rom.*, 85.

of which, however, is authentic (*Amores*, I, 8, 43): "Ludunt formose; casta est, quam nemo rogavit."¹⁰ In tale 179 a line is incorrectly attributed to Ovid.

From Lucan comes the dramatic incident of the apparition which appeared to Julius Caesar when he crossed the Rubicon (Lucan, *Phars.*, I, 182-193; *Gest. Rom.*, 19). The first part of the tale is fairly correct Roman history, although crudely told. Pompey is a Roman "princeps," who marries the daughter of a noble, called Caesar. Pompey sent Caesar, because he was younger, to fight in distant places, while he guarded the Roman state. He fixed the term of five years for Caesar's service, failure to return at the expiration of which time was to deprive the disobedient general of his rights forever. In the allegory Pompey is God; Caesar is Adam, who for disobedience is deprived of his possessions; Caesar's daughter is the soul betrothed to God; the Rubicon, incongruously enough, is the rite of baptism by which man again enters a state of blessedness. The source of the tale is said to be the *Gesta Romanorum*—a strange use of the term, which will be discussed later.

Suetonius (*Iulius*, 81, 85; cf. *Plut.*, *Caes.*, 63; *Cass. Dio*, XLIV, 17-18; *Gest. Rom.*, 97) has been used for the portents which preceded the death of Julius Caesar, an event which is said to have occurred twenty-two years after the founding of the city of Rome.

Tale 148, the story of Arion, is credited to "Agillus," evidently a corruption of "Agellius," the name by which A. Gellius was usually known during the Middle Ages. Gellius (XVI, 19) gives the story in practically the same form as that which Herodotus (I, 24) had used.

The account of malleable glass which appears in tale 44 has three possible classical sources: Pliny (*N.H.*, XXXVI, 195), Cassius Dio (LVII, 21) and Petronius (LI), who is evidently followed by Isidorus (XVI, 16). The historical comments on the change in the character of

¹⁰ For other classical quotations in tale 166 see pp. 351, 365, 370.

Tiberius at his accession to the power, and on his subsequent evil deeds would incline one to believe that Cassius Dio is being followed, for it is in some such setting that he relates the incident of Tiberius and malleable glass. The details of the story in the *Gesta*, however, are much nearer to those given by Petronius and Isidorus: the forcible hurling of the vase which showed that it could not be broken, and the hammer which the inventor drew out to straighten the dent made in its side.

Greek writers are very seldom used. One tale, however, seems to have been transmitted from Aristophanes (*Thesmoph.*, 499-501; *Gest. Rom.*, 123); at least it is so characteristic of Aristophanes that one cannot resist the belief that he furnished the original. On the return of her husband an unfaithful wife hides her lover under the bed. The husband asks that the bed be prepared for him, as he is weary and wishes to go to rest. The wife's mother helps her out by suggesting that they first show to the husband the "lintheum" which they have been making; under cover of this, while they hold it up, the lover escapes. The closing words of the two passages show the similarity. The words in the *Gesta* are: "Mater erigens lintheum, quantum potuit, per unum cornu, alterum filie ad sublevandum dedit; et tamdiu lintheum extenderunt, donec amasius est egressus." Aristophanes says:

ὥς ἡ γυνὴ δεικνῦσα τάνδρῃ τοῦγκυκλον
 ὑπ' αὐγὰς οἶόν ἐστιν, ἐγκεκαλυμμένον
 τὸν μοιχὸν ἐξέπεμψεν.

An anecdote which has earlier classical sources is cited from Josephus (*Antiq. Jud.*, XVIII, 6, 5; *Gest. Rom.*, 51). Tiberius explains his reason for keeping the same provincial governors in office so long by the story of the sick man and the flies. With the exception of the Pericles story (*Gest. Rom.*, 153) this is the only tale in the Vulgate which lacks a moralization. The reason for the omission is probably to be found in the fact that the story itself is an allegory, and the moralizer knew of no way to make an appli-

cation except through an allegory—a difficult task in this case. In tale 159 Josephus is incorrectly given as a source.

Tale 103 probably comes from an anecdote related by Plutarch (*De Garrulitate*, 14). Each has to do with the possibility of the assassination of an emperor at the hands of his barber, the mediæval tale exhibiting a characteristic fondness for inscribing words of warning on some object connected with the event related, and also being made more complex for the sake of the allegory.

The tale, which is doubtless based on the story of Alcibiades' test of his friends as found in Polyænus (*Strat.*, I, 40, 1; *Gest. Rom.*, 129), is changed somewhat, as was the case in the anecdote from Plutarch, to add to the force of the allegory. In the classical story all of Alcibiades' friends refuse to help him except one who offers to hide what is supposed to be the corpse of a man whom Alcibiades has murdered. In the tale as it appears in the *Gesta*, however, the king's son has three friends, one of whom he loves more than himself, another as much as himself, and a third whom he loves but little. The first friend when asked for help refuses to do anything except go with the guilty man to the cross, and give three or four ells of cloth in which to wrap his dead body. The second friend offers to go with him to the cross and console him as much as he can on the way. The third friend offers to take the blame upon himself and, if necessary, to suffer death for the crime. The allegory is unusually clear and contains a characteristic sneer at women. The first friend, who is dearer to man than himself, is the world, for love of which he often risks his life on land and sea; in return for this love the world in the time of his necessity will give him only the cloth in which to wrap his body. The second friend, whom he loves as much as himself, is his wife, his sons, and his daughters, who follow him to the grave with tears, but when his wife has returned home, within a few days her grief has departed and she loves another. The third friend, whom he loves but little, is, of course, Christ.

In four tales we find the authority given as the *Gesta Romanorum*, a term of uncertain significance, for it seems hardly probable that the *Gesta* is citing an earlier edition of itself. Two of the tales (19,¹¹ 95) are such as make it possible that Roman history in general is meant, since they both deal with what is plainly historical matter; the third tale (35) is a rather colorless account of the sacrifice of a lamb at the conclusion of peace, which might conceivably be cited from Roman history; but the fourth (39) refers to an incident of somewhat more importance which is not a matter of common historical knowledge, and would seem to demand a definite authority.

There may be compared with these historical tales which are cited from the *Gesta Romanorum*, the portents which warned Julius Caesar of his approaching death (tale 97 from Suetonius) which begins, "Legitur in chronicis." Somewhat similar in the nature of the content is the description of the character of Tiberius in tale 44, already referred to under Petronius. Tale 30 gives a fairly good description of a Roman triumph, although here late and untrustworthy authorities have been followed in part. A purely mediæval addition is the box on the ear of the emperor administered by the slave whose sole duty according to classical authority was to hold the crown above the triumphator's head.

Among the authors referred to in the *Gesta Romanorum* we do not find the name of Cicero, nor is there anything to indicate that he was used as a direct source for any of the tales. The name of Horace also is lacking, as well as those of all the other Augustan writers except Ovid and Vergil. The indebtedness of the *Gesta* to Ovid has already been discussed. The references to Vergil are few in number, and his influence seems to have been slight in proportion to his great fame during the Middle Ages. Perhaps it was because the Vergil of the Middle Ages was so far removed from the real poet that we find so few

¹¹ For tale 19 see p. 361, of this article.

traces of the latter in the *Gesta*. It is to the magician, "magister Vergilius," that reference is made in tale 57. The familiarity with the Fourth Eclogue which is shown by the lines quoted¹² also depended on an interest which was extraneous to the thought of the poet. In tale 158 there is an altogether mediæval statement about one of Vergil's heroes, without any mention, however, of Vergil. Pallas, the son of Evander, was, according to the *Gesta*, a giant slain after the fall of Troy; his body with a wound four and a half feet long is still uncorrupted, and the candle which burns at his head is still unextinguished, although two thousand two hundred and forty years have passed since his death.¹³

A statement in tale 166 comes nearer to the classical Vergil: "Virgilius, Longobardus origine, natione Mantuanus prosapia humili ortus, sapientia tamen maximus et eximius poetarum claruit. Cum quidam sibi diceret, quod versus Omeri operi suo inseruit, respondit, magnarum esse virium clavam excutere de manu Herculis." The comparison between using lines from Homer and stealing the club of Hercules is given by Donatus (*Vergilii Vita*, ll. 186-192), who quotes from Asconius Pedianus Vergil's usual reply to such a charge: "Cur non illi quoque eadem furta temptarent? verum intellecturos facilius esse Herculi clavam quam Homero versum subripere."

There is one curious reminiscence of Horace. Four times in the Vulgate appears the expression, "dimidium anime mee," which recalls at once to every Horace-lover the words which so beautifully express the deep affection felt by the younger for the older of the two great poets of the Augustan Age (Hor., *Ode* I, 3, 8). The words are used in each case, as they are in Horace, at a time of great stress, and as an expression of a very close tie; a mother

¹² See tale 176, p. 355, of this article.

¹³ The evidently corrupt *curvi* in the first part of this tale can be corrected to *Turni* by reference to a fuller version of the same story given in William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, II, 206; also by reference to Boccaccio, *Gen. Deorum*, XII, 67, where the same story is quoted from Martinus. See p. 339 of Dr. Coulter's article, "Genealogia Deorum," in this volume.

so speaks of her only son (*Gest. Rom.*, 14); a sister of her only brother (*Gest. Rom.*, 81); a father of his child (*Gest. Rom.*, 153); and a wife of her husband (*Gest. Rom.*, 153).

Thus far we have been considering those elements in the *Gesta* which can in each instance be traced back with a varying degree of certainty to some one classical author. These elements have in many cases, of course, been transmitted through the medium of earlier mediæval writers; to just what extent this is true, or how complex the transmission has been it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to determine. Often a faithful, in some cases even a verbal, adherence to the original indicates a very close connection with the classical source.

There are, in addition to the tales which can be classified as owing their origin to certain Greek or Roman writers, others which resist such a classification; they have been so widely used in classical literature that they have, as it were, become standardized, with little or no variation to indicate individual authors. Such a story is that of Damon and Pythias (*Gest. Rom.*, 108), which was common from the time of Aristoxenus in the fourth century B. C.; the names of the friends have often varied but the story has remained essentially the same. In the version of the *Gesta*, which follows the usual form of the story, the two friends, whose names are not given, are made robbers, probably because in the allegory they were to be the body and the soul, which to the mediæval mind were alike sinful. Tale 171 also shows in its latter part the influence of the Damon and Pythias story.

In the story of Coriolanus (*Gest. Rom.*, 137) only the essential part of the classical version has been kept: after everyone else has failed, a mother succeeds in persuading her son to desist from attacking his own city. The tale is said to be from the chronicles of Eusebius, and is assigned to the time of Constantine. Valerius Maximus is a likely source for the tale but there is no definite proof.

The well-known anecdote of the sword of Damocles (*Gest. Rom.*, 143) furnished the mediæval moralizer with

a story after his own heart. The uncertainty of a kingly life becomes the uncertainty of all human life; details are added to the classical story to show the evils which beset man on every side. A king causes his brother who has on a former occasion inquired the reason for his sadness, to be summoned to execution. The carrying out of the sentence is postponed, and in the meantime the brother, seated in a chair which has four fragile legs, is placed over a deep pit; a sharp sword is suspended over his head; four men with swords are placed around him with orders to raise their weapons on command. A banquet is then served, music sounds, and the brother is asked why he is not happy. The king explains the likeness to his own condition: the four fragile legs of the chair are the four elements¹⁴ of his body, the sword above his head is divine judgment, the four swords at his side are death, his sins, the devil, and the worms which will devour his body, the pit below is hell.

The story of Atalanta's race (*Gest. Rom.*, 60) has been used with one or two rather marked mediæval additions. The race takes place as in the classical story to determine whether the challenger shall marry the daughter of the king. The device of throwing attractive objects in front of the running maiden is also employed; but the tendency towards variety and the fondness for inscriptions, which are characteristic of the *Gesta*, cause a change at this point: the three golden apples of the classical version give place to a garland of roses, a girdle of silk and a silken purse in which there is a gold ball bearing the inscription, "Qui mecum ludit, numquam de meo ludo saciabitur." More startling by far, however, than these changes is the slap which Rosimunda, the mediæval Atalanta, administers to her competitor each time that she overtakes him after delaying to admire first the garland, then the girdle. This addition to the classical story was

¹⁴ These are the Aristotelian or peripatetic elements which are so important in mediæval philosophy—fire, air, earth and water. For other references to these elements see *Gest. Rom.*, 70, and the allegory of 65.

made not for the sake of the allegory, as is often the case, but seemingly for the sole purpose of adding to the vividness of the story. To the grim moralizer the maiden is the soul; the man who runs with her is the devil, who tries by seductive devices to keep her from the goal of heaven.

The story of Curtius (*Gest. Rom.*, 43) shows a striking variation from the classical version. In the mediæval tale the chasm in the Roman forum is closed by a man who according to his bargain with his fellow citizens is allowed for a year to live as he chooses, using the property and the wives of other men freely, on the condition that at the end of the time he will ride into the chasm. One will hardly recognize in this story the picture so vividly painted by Livy of M. Curtius, who reverently lifts his hands to the sky, and gazes at the temples of the gods and at the capitol before he mounts his horse and with high patriotism gives to the chasm that which the Romans value most, arms and valor. The deviation is all the more strange, because not only is there no use made of it in the allegory, but it is directly opposed to the allegorical interpretation, in which the person who sacrifices himself is Christ. The classical form of the story was evidently not known or it would have been used in place of the unsuitable variation. The year of license in the mediæval tale must have come from some such story as that of Mycerinus related by Herodotus (II, 133), or perhaps from some mediæval tale of a period of license preceding certain death.

Tale 104 contains the main points of the story of Androcles and the lion, which had been narrated by Apion (Gellius, V, 14; cf. Aelian, *Hist. Anim.*, VII, 48). It seems unlikely, however, that the mediæval writer knew the classical version as we now have it, for too many details such as would have delighted the compiler of the *Gesta* are omitted: the lion bringing food for Androcles when they lived in the same cave, the scene in the Circus Maximus, Androcles leading the lion about among the shops of Rome. Some of these points would have been hard to

work into the allegory, but that would probably not have forbidden their use, for the allegory often passes over details of the story.

A combination of different classical stories is found in tale 63, which is in the main the Ariadne myth but has in addition slight elements from the story of Atalanta and from that of Medea. The resemblance to the Atalanta story lies in the fact that an emperor makes a proclamation of the terms under which his daughter's hand may be gained. In the central part of the tale the labyrinth becomes a garden with intricate paths, the minotaur is a lion, Theseus a deliberate suitor; the clue of thread remains the same. From the Medea story evidently comes the "gummus" which the successful suitor smears on his armor. Probably the three classical stories were all familiar to the mediæval writer, so that it was easy to add to one details from the others.

In tale 111 we find the familiar figures of Argus, Mercury and Io, although their classical significance is entirely lost. The white heifer is merely a white heifer who is remarkable for her beauty and the abundance of her milk. Her owner gives her golden horns and then because of her value entrusts her to a man named Argus, who is faithful and has a hundred eyes. Mercury is a knavish fellow who, after his first attempts to steal the heifer have failed, succeeds by using his skill in music to put Argus to sleep. In the allegory we find once more evidence of the usual attitude towards women: the music which lulls Argus to sleep is a diabolical temptation, that is, woman.

I know of no exact classical prototype for the colloquy of Argus with his shepherd's crook, which he addresses as his master, when he is debating whether or not he shall yield to the temptation of Mercury. The fact, however, that in this and similar scenes in mediæval tales the speaker is a slave or servant who has cheated his master and is considering how he shall make peace with him, suggests the scenes in classical comedy where the rascally

slave soliloquizes over a similarly difficult situation, often addressing himself by name (Plaut., *Epid.*, 81-100; Ter., *And.*, 206-225). The new element in the mediæval situation is that some object—a shepherd's crook or a hat—is put up to represent the master, and to take his part in the imaginary conversation. A scene of this type which is nearer the classical form than is the scene in the *Gesta* is found in one of the tales of a collection which appeared in 1601 under the title *Wendunmuth*.¹⁵ Here there is given under the caption, "Ein schaffer rathschlagt mit seim stecken," the story of a shepherd who, in considering how he shall account to his master for a lamb which he has given away, puts his hat on a staff seemingly to represent a silent but sympathetic friend in whose presence he brings forward the different excuses or explanations that he might offer to his master, and rejects them each in turn. A somewhat similar dramatic device is used by Shakespeare in a familiar scene in *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (II, 3). The Launcelot Gobbo scene, however, in *The Merchant of Venice* (II, 2), is nearer to the slave's soliloquy in classical comedy.

In tale 166 there occurs a story of a rich giant and king named Arrius, who in answer to his inquiry was assured by the oracle of Apollo that there was a man who was happier than he. This man was Agalaus, a countryman poor in property but rich in spirit, who had never left the boundaries of his own field. The oracle approved of the few acres of Agalaus free from anxiety rather than of the rich shore of Lydia full of fear. This seems a reflection of the conversation between Croesus and Solon, as recorded by Herodotus (I, 30-32), although the argument of Solon that no man could be counted happy until his death is missing. The tale in the *Gesta* seems to have been influenced by another story, perhaps by Claudian's "Old Man of Verona."

I believe we should see in tale 67 a mediæval version of

¹⁵ Hans Wilhelm Kirchhof, *Wendunmuth*, hrsg. von H. Oesterley, *Bibl. d. Litt. Vereins in Stuttgart*, II, 1869, p. 141.

Heracles at the Crossroads. The story tells of two cities, one on the summit of a mountain with a strait and narrow road leading to it, which is guarded by three soldiers and an army with whom anyone who passes must fight; those who arrive at the city have abundance of treasure and stay forever. The other city is in the valley; to it runs a smooth and delightful road on which three soldiers are stationed to receive and minister luxuriously to wayfarers; but all who reach the city are thrown into prison and condemned to death. When two soldiers, one wise, the other foolish, who have sworn fidelity to each other, start out in mediæval fashion to seek their fortune, they come to the parting of the ways. The wise soldier wishes to go along the difficult road to the desirable city, but the foolish soldier insists on the easy path and carries his point. When at the end of the journey they are seized and brought before the judge, each blames the other, but the judge condemns them both.

An allegory similar to this was first introduced by Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 287-292), and later made famous by the beautiful fable of Prodicus recounted by Xenophon (*Mem.*, II, 1, 21-34) in which the choice of Heracles is symbolized by two roads and by two women. To the Pythagoreans a familiar symbol was the letter Y, the stem of which stood for life during infancy and early youth, the left fork being the road to vice, the right to virtue. The use made of the two roads by the early Christians may be seen in a passage from Lactantius (VI, 3):

Duae sunt viae per quas humanam vitam progredi necesse est: una, quae in coelum ferat; altera, quae ad inferos deprimat; quas et poetae in carminibus et philosophi in disputationibus suis induxerunt. Et quidam philosophi alteram virtutum esse voluerunt, alteram vitiorum; eamque quae sit assignata virtutibus primo aditu esse et arduam et confragosam. In qua si quis difficultate superata, in summum eius evaserit habere eum de cetero planum iter, lucidum amoenumque campum, et omnes laborum suorum capere fructus uberes atque iucundos. . . .¹⁶

¹⁶ For a discussion of the theme of Heracles at the Crossroads, see M. C.

The extraneous element of the three soldiers stationed on each way is brought in to enable the moralizer to use his familiar triad of the world, the flesh and the devil.¹⁷

The legend of Pope Gregory, a story which is too long and too familiar to be outlined here, is given in tale 81. Its resemblance in part to the Oedipus-Jocasta story of Greek literature, and, near the end, to the story of Prometheus has been discussed by Henry Wilson, who also points out the many interesting ramifications of the story in French, German, Italian, English and Spanish literature.¹⁸

The tablets which serve to identify Gregory on two occasions are to be compared with recognition signs in classical literature, particularly with the "tokens" of comedy. In tale 172 a ring is used in this way. In the story of Saint Alexius (*Gest. Rom.*, 15) a ring and the buckle of a belt are given to his bride by Alexius before he departs on his long pilgrimage; one expects to find them used as a means of recognition when, at the end of his life, the identity of the saint is discovered, but no further mention is made of them. In tale 110, a scar on his head from the wound of a saber is the means by which two soldiers identify a Roman general; his wife also looking closely at the man, who is her lost husband, sees in him "signa mariti." One may compare with this the scar on the left hand of Agorastocles (Plaut., *Poen.*, 1073-1074), and the scar on the forehead of Orestes in the *Electra* of Euripides.

The tales which concern Alexander the Great follow the usual trend of such stories in the Middle Ages, when Alexander was a favorite character, and Aristotle, his teacher, hardly less popular. Sometimes (*Gest. Rom.*, 61, 96, 139) the reference is merely to a great king, or the master of the world; in two tales (11, 34) Aristotle gives

Waites, "The Allegorical Debate in Greek Literature," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXIII, 1912, pp. 9-11.

¹⁷ For a similarity in the choice of ways compare tale 65.

¹⁸ J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction*, revised ed. with notes by Henry Wilson, London, 1906, II, p. 220, n. 1. Tales 13 and 18 have each an element which is similar to the Oedipus-Jocasta story.

wise counsel to his master. In the former of these instances the daughter of the Queen of the North who had been brought up on poison recalls the account in Pliny (*N.H.*, XXV, 6) of Mithridates' daily habit of drinking poison with certain precautionary antidotes, so that he might grow accustomed to it and thus become immune against the attacks of his enemies. In tale 61 the wise man is not Aristotle but Socrates, as also in tale 145. Tale 61, besides furnishing the startling combination of Emperor Claudius, Alexander the Great, and Socrates, also contains one of the wise sayings attributed by Plutarch (*Them.*, XVIII) to Themistocles.

The Bucephalus story (*Gest. Rom.*, 36), which has previously been referred to in dealing with Solinus, is the only famous Alexander anecdote recounted in the *Gesta*. But in tale 31 Alexander is used as an illustration of a theme common to classical literature—the contrast between boundless power or genius, and the narrow tomb—as in Horace's "pulveris exigui," and the magnificent passage in Juvenal's tenth satire beginning, "Expende Hannibalem." At the death of Alexander the philosophers who came and gazed at his golden tomb each uttered a maxim such as, "Heri non sufficebat Alexandro totus mundus, hodie sufficiunt ei tres vel quatuor ulne panni"; and "Heri Alexandrum omnes timebant, hodie eum vilem omnes reputant." The same theme is echoed many times in modern literature: Shakespeare puts into the mouth of Antony as he gazes at the dead body of Caesar words which resemble closely those just quoted from the *Gesta*:

O mighty Caesar! dost thou lie so low?
Are all thy conquests, glories, triumphs, spoils,
Shrunk to this little measure?

* * * * *

But yesterday the word of Caesar might
Have stood against the world: now lies he there,
And none so poor to do him reverence.

Similar expressions are called forth by the sight of the

dead body of Hotspur (*Henry IV*, pt. I, V, 4), and of the skull of Yorick (*Hamlet*, V, 1).

Other tales show resemblances to classical literature and history which are less evident. In the case of tale 138 one finds it hard to escape the thought of Alcibiades, whose life, if he be considered the son of Athens, offers much that is parallel to that of the king's son and heir whose ungratefulness is punished by disinheritance. He flees to the rival and enemy of his father, the king of the Persians, whom he incites to make war upon his country. In this war he seriously wounds his father, then in shame and horror at his deed he changes sides and fights against the Persians. He later returns home, and is again received as the heir.

The tale of the three rings (*Gest. Rom.*, 89), which occurs in later literature, notably in Lessing's "Nathan der Weise," has much in common with the account of the twelve shields of Numa (Plut., *Numa*, 13).

The lament of father, mother and wife in turn over the dead body of Alexius in tale 15 recalls the lament over Hector's body in the *Iliad*; the likeness, however, may be due to the difficulty of setting forth in narrative the simultaneous expression of grief on the part of several persons rather than to the influence of the Homeric passage. A greater degree of resemblance to a classical story may be seen in tale 49 where the woman who betrayed her city for a reward, which was immediately afterward the cause of her death, is much like Tarpeia of the Roman Capitol.

The image of wax which is treated with magic (*Gest. Rom.*, 102) will recall similar instances in Theocritus, Vergil, and Horace, as well as in later classical writers; but in anything so primitive, so common to all nations as magic, it is difficult to be sure of the line of influence. The use of a mirror in the magic rites of this same tale has two or three less important parallels in classical literature.¹⁹

The custom of assigning to some particular reign a tale

¹⁹ See Butler and Owen, *Commentary on Apuleius, Apologia*, XIII.

for which no source is cited seems to have been adopted for the purpose of obtaining an air of authenticity. The ruler is frequently designated merely as "quidem imperator" or "quidem rex," but at other times is given a definite name. This may or may not be that of a real Roman emperor, but in either case it is meaningless, for seldom has the incident related anything to do with the reign of the emperor mentioned. Comments on the character or actions of Roman emperors, which occur but rarely in the *Gesta*, are seldom in accord with history. An exception to this rule is found in the brief statement in tale 44 about the change in the character of Tiberius when he became emperor, a view which agreed with the current historical belief. The account of the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine which forms the body of tale 95 also follows history. On the other hand we are told that Domitian was wise and just in every respect, that Theodosius lost his sight, and that Hadrian was more wicked than even his predecessor Trajan. The fashion of naming an emperor who usually either was a Roman or was assumed to be one increased the apparent classical character of the tales, and gave countenance to the title, *Gesta Romanorum*. This title, although more nearly correct than would have been a name which assigned the tales to any other one period or general source, is not justified because of the many oriental and mediæval elements in the book.

In citing authorities the compiler of the *Gesta* is much more dependable. Of the twenty-three classical tales which give a source, twenty do so correctly, if we include three which are said to be from Pliny, but do not follow him closely. Four non-classical tales are attributed to classical authors.

Of the one hundred and eighty-one tales contained in the Vulgate seventy-five are clearly classical in origin; twenty others contain elements the classical nature of which in most cases is quite plain. These ninety-five classical tales may be rather loosely divided into three groups. In the first group may be placed those which can

be traced back to definite classical authors, chief among whom are Seneca Rhetor, Valerius Maximus, Pliny the Elder, Frontinus, and Saint Augustine; Seneca the Philosopher, Solinus, Justinus, and Macrobius are used twice each, and no other writer more than once. These tales with a few exceptions deviate but slightly from the classical version, and contain few mediæval additions.

A second group may be formed of those tales, such as the Ariadne story and the story of Io and Argus, which, although their outlines are clearly classical, have received much in the way of mediæval setting, and have almost entirely lost their classical significance.

In a third and smaller group may be placed those tales which are predominantly mediæval or oriental but have some classical characteristic. In some cases there is but one slight element which is classical, as for instance in the story of Guy of Warwick where in the midst of mediæval adventures and pilgrimages to the holy land the ring of recognition is the only indication of classical influence. In other instances, as in the story of Pope Gregory, the classical influence is a more subtle one, which has affected the theme of the tale; at first glance the story may appear entirely mediæval, but a careful consideration may reveal its kinship with the theme of a Greek tragedy or with an old Roman story.

AN ITALIAN MATHEMATICAL
MANUSCRIPT



BY ELIZABETH BUCHANAN COWLEY

AN ITALIAN MATHEMATICAL MANUSCRIPT

[Columbia X511 A1 3]

THE old mathematical manuscripts are valuable for the information which they furnish concerning the process of evolution by which the highly developed forms of the Mathematics of today have slowly grown from humble beginnings. In the story of this development, much stress is naturally laid upon the brilliant periods, such, for example, as the seventeenth century, which could boast of Napier and logarithms, of Descartes and analytic geometry, of Newton and the calculus. But in order to grasp the full significance of the discoveries of a leader of mathematical thought, it is necessary to be acquainted on the one hand with the works of his predecessors who paved the way for him by minor discoveries, and on the other hand with the labors of his successors who elaborated his new ideas and applied them to many diversified kinds of activities and brought them into everyday life. For it is not only true that the requirements of daily life have been the motivation for mathematical discoveries and growth, but it is equally true that a new idea in mathematics changes many of the modes of performing everyday actions. The mathematics of any period is closely interwoven with the daily life of that time.

From this point of view, it seems desirable to study the lesser, as well as the greater, periods. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries furnish an example of an uneventful era. In Italy, for instance, the fame of Fibonacci, the learned traveler and mathematician and man of affairs

at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and the glory of Cardan and Tartaglia in the sixteenth century, have thrown the intervening centuries into a deep shadow. There seems, however, to be much material for a study of this period, for M. Libri tells us (*Histoire*, II, pp. 210-212) that hundreds of mathematical manuscripts which were written in Italy in these centuries by unknown or obscure authors have been preserved in various libraries. He suggests that many may have been lectures delivered by professors in the Italian universities. It is also possible that some of these manuscripts may have had some connection with the large and flourishing commercial schools of Florence and other Italian cities. Although geometry, astronomy and other subjects are said to be treated in these manuscripts, it is the arithmetic that may well arouse our chief interest, for mediæval Italy played an important part in the development of this subject. The merchants of that country, in whose hands the greater part of the European trade was at one time held, were the quickest to realize the power and simplicity of the Hindu-Arabic positional number system and to recognize its superiority over those other systems which lacked the zero and hence needed an abacus, or reckoning board or table, for making calculations. The term algorism was usually applied to those mediæval arithmetics which employed the Hindu-Arabic system.

The Italian manuscript studied in this paper is an algorism, without date or signature at the end. For many years it was in the possession of the late Prince Baldassarre Boncompagni (1821-1894), the well-known editor and discriminating critic who gathered together one of the largest collections of mathematical manuscripts. It is listed (as number 11) in the catalogue of his library compiled by Enrico Narducci in 1862 and (as number 433) in the second edition of 1892, and again in the catalogue which was published in 1898 when the library was to be sold at public auction ("Parte prima, Art. 388").

It is now in the Library of Columbia University, having been purchased in 1902.

The manuscript is bound in vellum in good condition. In the front of the book there are two flyleaves of paper. On the recto of the first of these, in a note written June 26, 1840, Giovanni Galvani, of the "R. Biblioteca Estense," states that this manuscript is, in his estimation, undoubtedly of the fourteenth century. Two printed slips of paper have been pasted in; one, on the inside of the front binding, is a bookseller's description (in French) and the other, on the verso of the first flyleaf, contains the name *Cesare Campori*. On the second flyleaf someone has written the title *Codice. Antichissimo di Algorismo*. In this manuscript the first and last leaves are very brown and discolored and are torn at the bottom, but towards the middle of the book the vellum is in a much better state of preservation. The numbering of the leaves in the upper right-hand corners is worth noting, for some leaves show traces of an earlier numeration, the thinness of the vellum in many other cases seems to indicate erasures, and the forms of numerals differ from those in the text. Although the last leaf is numbered 72, there are only 70 leaves, for there is no leaf numbered 55 and there is only one leaf between the first and the one numbered 4. (The compilers of the catalogues had evidently overlooked the absence of leaf 55, when they stated that there were 71 vellum leaves.) The titles, *Antichissimi quesiti d'Aritmetica* and *Rascionei d'Algorismo*, in modern hands, are written at the top of the recto of the first vellum leaf on seven lines of text which have been partly erased and are now illegible. Although there are evidently some leaves missing from the front of the manuscript, the writer cannot find sufficient evidence to warrant the statements made in the catalogues of 1892 and 1898 that at least fifty pages have been lost.

The writing in this manuscript is divided up into chapters without headings, each being separated from its preceding and following chapters by one or more blank

lines. For convenience, we shall refer to them as chapters 1, 2, 3, etc., although they are not numbered consecutively in the manuscript. In four of these chapters the opening sentences are missing. All the other chapters begin with large initials. Five (possibly six) chapters are not finished. Every chapter without a beginning is at the top of a recto and every unfinished chapter is at the bottom of a verso. There is also, at the top of the recto of leaf 8, a part of a sentence which has no connection with anything else in that recto or with anything on the verso of 7. No chapter which is unfinished could be made coherently the beginning of a chapter lacking the opening sentences. It seems probable from this that there are at least eight leaves missing; at least one following each of the first two leaves and each of the leaves numbered 5, 7, 11, 27, 42 and 54. In order to obtain further evidence of the missing leaves, I made a careful examination of the binding to locate the leaves that are parts of one sheet. It was found that the arrangement of sheets is such that the insertion of six sheets at selected places would account, in a satisfactory way, for the eight missing leaves. For instance, as leaves 8 and 11 are on a sheet which is inside the sheet containing leaves 7 and 12, another sheet inserted between them would give the leaves missing after leaves 7 and 11.

In the center of the verso of the last leaf there is a drawing of a coat of arms. Above is a cardinal's hat and below the inscription S. R. E. CARD. URSI. Other words have been written on the page, but none of them are legible except *Ludovico* near the lower right-hand corner, and *Vida Geronimo* near the upper right-hand corner. The latter name seems to be of a later date than the other writing. I suspect that these are the names and the coats of arms of former owners of the manuscript. At the bottom of the verso of leaf 10 there is written *Ludovico bravo de mzzancollo (sic)*. At the foot of the recto of leaf 24 we find *Ludvico mazzancollo. Sua mani mille cento cinqu . . . sei*. It does not seem possible that this is meant

for a date, as the language, the writing, the mathematical content and the forms of the numerals seem to point to the fourteenth rather than the twelfth century. Perhaps this was a statement that there were 1156 written lines in the manuscript up to this point. There are at present only 938. But the other 218 lines could readily be accounted for by the five leaves that are apparently missing before this note.

Fragments of nine problems written on the verso of leaf 45, both sides of the next leaf, the recto of leaf 72 and part of the verso of 70, are in styles entirely different from that of the other leaves. The writing and the content indicate a later date than the other parts of the manuscript. A number of pages contain marginal notes in hands somewhat resembling these fragments. From the beginning of the manuscript through the verso of leaf 23, and again from the recto of leaf 47 to the end of the manuscript, each leaf is ruled for twenty-six lines. Leaves 24 to 32 inclusive have twenty lines, while leaves 33 to 46 have twenty-two lines. Although the writing here is of the same general style as the first and last portions of the manuscript, nevertheless it is larger and contains a few differences in forms of letters. It must be noted that no leaves appear to be missing at the points where there is a change in the number of lines to a page.

The manuscript contains forty-two drawings, some in colors. Thirty-six of these show objects mentioned in the adjacent problems, but there are six pictures in the margins that have no connection with the near-by text. Many of the drawings are quite crude, especially the very unnatural-looking trees. There is a noticeable variety in the shape and ornamentation of the vases, but a monotonous sameness in the stonework, steps and doors of the towers. Amongst the small marginal pictures there is one which is full of life and action. It shows a man on horseback, followed by a dog, galloping madly along a winding road leading away from a house.

It has been mentioned that there is a large initial at the

beginning of each chapter, except the four which lack the opening sentences. There are also, in eighteen separate places, capitals written in the spaces between chapters. These letters appear to be inserted for the purpose of indicating the nature of the subject matter of the adjacent chapters. For example, B may stand for barter (*baratto*), one form of C for merchandise sold by the hundred (C) pounds or *braccia*; P for cloth (*panno*), and PC for pepper and wax (*pepe, ciera*). Naturally, there are none of our modern symbols for the operations of elementary arithmetic, such as +, ×, −. Instead, the words add, subtract, multiply, divide, times and equals are given in full. Fractions, however, are written with a horizontal line separating numerator and denominator. In some instances, chiefly in division, fractions such as $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, etc., are used where the numbers 2, 3, etc., are evidently intended.

In addition to the nine fragments written in the radically different scripts, there are one hundred and forty-one chapters. Beginning with the recto of leaf 66 and continuing part way down the verso of leaf 70, there is a long table giving data concerning the relative values of the coins of many localities. One hundred and three chapters begin with the phrase "Fammi questa rascione," four varying by using capital R instead of writing out the last word, two replacing F by S, and one inserting the word "anchora" after "Fammi." Eight chapters begin with "Queste la reghola" and six with "Queste lamaiestramento." Practically every chapter contains a rule and a statement in which the reader is assured that that is the correct rule that should be applied in all similar cases.

In examining the material, we find little evidence of a systematic grouping of the chapters according to subject matter. The four fundamental operations upon abstract numbers are explained early in the manuscript, although they are taken up in a rather curious order. The first chapter asks for the number which, when multiplied by

$9\frac{3}{5}$, gives $38\frac{3}{7}$. The reader is directed to multiply each number by 35 and then divide 1345 by 336, giving $4\frac{1}{336}$. Unfortunately, the actual work of multiplication and division is not given. Chapter 7 deals with the addition of many large numbers. Stress is laid upon the necessity of keeping units under units, tens under tens, etc. The sum total, which is not correct, is written at the top of the column, instead of the bottom. In the next chapter there is an explanation of the process of subtracting 5982 from 7678. The method is as follows: Write 5982 below 7678 and begin subtracting at the left by taking 5 from 7. Write the remainder, 2, above the 7. Then 9 from 6 "lacks" 3. Subtract 3 from 20, leaving 17. Cancel out the 2 by a stroke. Write 1 above the cancelled 2 and 7 above 6. Then 8 from 7 lacks 1. Take 1 from 70; cancel 7; write 6 above it and 9 above the next 7. Take 2 from 8 and write the remainder, 6, above 8. The total remainder would be read off 1696. Below the instructions this problem and another are worked out.

$$\begin{array}{r} 1\ 6 \\ 2\ 7\ 9\ 6 \\ 7\ 6\ 7\ 8 \\ 5\ 9\ 8\ 2. \end{array}$$

The next chapter takes up division by 2. This is rather amusing when it is recalled that the first chapter considered the division of one mixed number by another. In the division by 2, every remainder, whether 0 or 1, is written above the number; and the quotients are placed below. The number divided contains ten digits. A statement is made that it is possible to divide by $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, or $\frac{1}{5}$ (*i.e.*, by 3, 4 or 5) in a similar way. In the next chapter (10), the numbers from 1 to 20 are divided by 100 and the results are expressed by fractions with 1 as the numerator. For example, 17 divided by 100 is given as $\frac{1}{10}\ \frac{1}{20}\ \frac{1}{50}$. There is one exception: 8 divided by 100 is given as 2, evidently a scribal error for $\frac{2}{25}$. There is no explanation of the process, simply a table of results, with the state-

ment that it is useful to a merchant who sells wool by the hundred pounds or cloth by the hundred *braccia*. It is a question whether this chapter is finished or not. It stops with 20 at the bottom of the verso of leaf 5. But it is evident that at least one leaf is missing here because the chapter at the top of the recto of leaf 6 lacks its opening sentences. In chapter 12 we find the rule for the multiplication of one fraction by another. Ten examples are written out below. In each case there are two statements, such as $\frac{2}{3}$ times $\frac{4}{5}$ makes $\frac{8}{15}$ and the $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{4}{5}$ is $\frac{8}{15}$. In the next chapter the subject is the multiplication of mixed numbers. The example given in the text is $7\frac{2}{3}$ times $6\frac{3}{4}$. These numbers are expressed as thirds and fourths respectively. Then $2\frac{3}{3}$ times $2\frac{7}{4}$ gives "621 $\frac{1}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{4}$, i.e. 621 divided by 12, which is 51 and 4." (This last is evidently intended for $51\frac{3}{4}$.) The numerical work for two other examples, without instruction, is also given. In the next chapter the subject is the same as the first chapter, i.e., divisions of mixed numbers. More interesting than the text proper is the numerical work, without explanation, at the bottom of the page, where $30\frac{1}{2}$ is divided by $6\frac{1}{3}$, giving $4\frac{31}{38}$.

$$30\frac{1}{2}$$

$$6\frac{1}{3}$$

$$4\frac{31}{38}$$

$$183 \quad 6 \quad 38$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 3 \\ 61 \\ 183 \\ 38 \end{array}$$

Square roots are dealt with in chapters 125 and 126. In the first of these it is stated that the roots are useful for geometry. It is also said that not every number has a root, —only those which come from multiplying a number by the same number, as 4, 9, 16, 25 . . . 100. The next chapter shows how to find the root of 10, one of the so-called fractional roots. The reader is reminded that 3 times 3 gives 9 and that 9 subtracted from 10 leaves 1. He is then in-

structed to add 3 and 3, making 6, and divide the remainder, 1, by 6. He then has the root, $3\frac{1}{6}$; for $3\frac{1}{6}$ times $3\frac{1}{6}$ gives $10\frac{1}{36}$. In geometrical problems appearing later, the root of 800 is given as $28\frac{2}{7}$ and the root of 300 is set down once as $17\frac{11}{34}$ and once as $17\frac{1}{3}$. The method employed here is interesting because it furnishes a first approximation to the square root without the use of decimal fractions. It is the common mediæval rule that $\sqrt{a^2+r}=a+\frac{r}{2a}$.

In the solution of problems there are two rules, of oriental origin, which played conspicuous parts in the arithmetics of the Middle Ages, and even of later periods. The "rule of three" (*regula de tri*) was also known as the "merchant's rule" and the "golden rule." The term lasted for centuries and is surviving today in the old nursery rhyme which runs,

Multiplication is vexation,
Division is as bad,
The rule of three, it puzzles me,
And practice drives me mad.

This "rule of three" resembles our modern simple proportion, but differs from it in having the first and third terms similar instead of the first and second. In our manuscript this rule of "3 chose" is treated in chapter 11 (which lacks the opening sentences). The statement is made that it is useful in the comparison of merchandise, in alloys of metals and in the barter of goods. According to this arbitrary "rule," the reader, recalling that one of the "things" has been mentioned by name twice, is to use as divisor the number of that "thing" given first. This number is to be divided into the product of the other two numbers. For instance, in the problem, if 13 coins of Cortona are worth 7 of Ravenna, what is the value of 9 of Cortona, divide 7 times 9 by 13. The other of the two rules used in the solution of problems is the "rule of false position" (*regula falsi*), which is sometimes called the "rule of false assumption." It consists, essentially, of the process of

assuming any convenient value for the number sought and working out the problem on this assumption and then getting the actual value by a comparison of the results obtained and the data given. In our manuscript this rule is employed, although no explanation of it is given.

Scattered throughout the manuscript there are nine chapters applying one or both of these rules to abstract numbers. For example, in chapter 2, it is required to find a number such that if $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of it are taken away and the remainder is multiplied by itself, the result is the original number. The number is assumed to be 12. This gives 25 as a result. Then by the rule of three, the actual number is easily found. This method seems quite round-about when compared with a modern algebraic equation

$(\frac{5x}{12})^2 = x$. Again, in chapter 114, the problem is to find

two numbers such that when each is multiplied by itself the sum of the two products is 64. Evidently recalling that simplest case of the Pythagorean theorem, which was known long before the general theorem was proved, the writer says that if the sum were 25, the numbers would be 3 and 4. The roots of 64 and 25 are 8 and 5. The reader is told to use the rule of three with the number 4 and then with the number 3, getting $6\frac{2}{3}$ and then $4\frac{4}{5}$. In this manuscript there are twenty chapters dealing with abstract numbers.

In the so-called practical problems, which are found in the other one hundred and twenty-one chapters, the rule of three and the rule of false position also play important parts. Eighty-four of these problems are financial in character. As a mediæval Italian merchant or banker who carried on foreign trade would meet many and varied financial questions, it is not unnatural that two-thirds of the problems in this algorism should relate to money matters and that there should also be the long table of the relative values of coins. The chief money system employed in these problems contains a combination of the duodecimal and the vigesimal. The situation was ren-

dered more complex by the fact that many cities in the Middle Ages had the privilege of coining money; and, as today, the relative values of different coins fluctuated with the political situations.

In this manuscript lb is used to denote both weight and money. In the latter case the submultiples are s' and d'. Occasionally we find *libra*, *lib*, *libr'*, and *denari*. Four types of money problems are especially interesting. In problems in which the cost per hundred is given to find the cost of a given number, the methods are ingenious. For example, consider chapter 18. If 1000 pounds of wool cost lb48 s16 d2, what is the cost of 7876 pounds? Note that 7000 cost 7 times the cost of 1000; *i.e.*, 7 times lb48 s16 d2, or lb341 s13 d2. To find the cost of 876, recall that 500 is $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1000. Take $\frac{1}{2}$ of lb48 s16 d2, which is lb24 s8 d1. To obtain the cost of 376 recall that 250 is $\frac{1}{2}$ of 500. Take $\frac{1}{2}$ of lb24 s8 d1, which is lb12 s4 d $\frac{1}{2}$. Then for 126, recall that 100 is $\frac{1}{10}$ of 1000 and hence cost lb4 s17 d $7\frac{2}{5}$. To find the cost of 25, recall that 25 is $\frac{1}{4}$ of 100. The cost of 25 is lb1 s4 d $4\frac{1}{2}$. Finally, 1 pound cost $\frac{1}{100}$ of lb4 s17 d $7\frac{2}{5}$, which is d11 $1\frac{3}{25}$. These separate amounts are put down without any attempt at keeping the columns straight. The sum is given as lb384 s8 d $3\frac{4}{100}$.

Barter, or the exchange of one commodity for another article instead of money, is the theme of some of the problems. For example, in chapter 20, if 9 *braccia* of cloth are worth lb12 and 7 pounds of sulphur are worth lb11, how much cloth can be obtained for 97 pounds of sulphur? The "rule to be applied in all similar cases" is to multiply the number of pounds of sulphur by the value of one *br.* (*i.e.*, 7 times 12, which is 84) and then take 9 times 11, which is 99. Then multiply 99 times 97, giving 9603, and divide by 84, which gives 114 *braccia* and $\frac{27}{84}$. The numbers are rewritten below the instruction, with crossed lines indicating the multiplications.

The computation of interest is the theme of fifteen chapters (46 to 55, 89 to 92, and 112). Chapter 112 considers partial payments, as well as interest. The rules for

computing interest are given in chapter 46, where it is stated that for 1d' which $\text{lb}1$ earns in a month, $\text{lb}5$ will be earned by $\text{lb}100$ in a year. For example, if $\text{lb}1$ earns $7\frac{1}{3}\text{d}$ per month, the earnings of $\text{lb}100$ per year will be five times $7\frac{1}{3}$ or $\text{lb}36\frac{2}{3}$, or $\text{lb}36 \text{ s}13 \text{ d}4$. The reader is also told that for $\text{lb}1$ which $\text{lb}100$ earns per year, $\text{lb}1$ will earn $\frac{1}{2}\text{d}$ per month, while for 1s' per $\text{lb}100$ the earnings will be $\frac{1}{100}\text{d}$ per lb per month, and for 1d' the earnings will be $\frac{1}{1200}\text{d}$ per month. For example, if $\text{lb}100$ earns $\text{lb}37 \text{ s}10 \text{ d}6$ per year, to find the interest per lb per month, recall that for $\text{lb}37$ there will be $3\frac{7}{5}\text{d}$, for 10s there will be $1\frac{1}{100}\text{d}$ and for 6d there will be $\frac{1}{200}\text{d}$. So the interest per lb per month is $\text{d}7^{10}\frac{1}{200}$. Chapter 47 proposes this problem: If $\text{lb}1$ earns $6\frac{3}{4}\text{d}$ per month, in what length of time will $\text{lb}23 \text{ s}12 \text{ d}9\frac{1}{2}$ double itself? The rule is to divide 20 years by $6\frac{3}{4}$, giving 2 years 11 months and $16\frac{1}{2}$ days. In chapter 49, the rule of three is employed to find the time for which $\text{lb}1024$ is equivalent to $\text{lb}978$ for 3 months and 5 days. In chapter 52 three sums are lent for three different periods. Each sum is multiplied by the number of days for which it was lent and the sum of these three products is divided by the sum of the three amounts to obtain the length of time for which that sum will be equivalent to the three amounts for their respective periods. Chapter 112 proposes this problem: A man borrows $\text{lb}40$ for 3 years at the rate of 4d per month. If he wishes to make 3 equal annual payments to include capital and interest, what will be the amount? It is stated that if the sum were $\text{lb}300$, each payment would be $\text{lb}140$, no reason being given. The amount of each payment for $\text{lb}40$ is obtained by the rule of three: 40 times 140 divided by 300.

Another type of money problem is that of the equivalence of various coins. For example, take chapter 30. If 7 coins of Cortona are worth 5 of Pisa and if 9 Papal coins are worth 11 of Pisa, how many of Cortona are to be had for $\text{s}17 \text{ d}10$ in Papal money? The instructions are to multiply 7 by 11 and write 77 above and then multiply 9 by 5 and write 45 below. And then by the rule of three, since

77 coins of Cortona are worth 45 Papal coins, multiply s17 d10 by 77 (which makes lb68 s13 d2) and divide by 45, making s30 d6 $\frac{8}{45}$. A diagram is placed below, writing 7, 5, and 77 in a line with 9, 11, and 45 below in order. Lines are drawn from 11 to 7 and 77 and other lines extend from 9 to 5 and to 45. There are three errors in this problem; s17 d10 is twice called s17 d6 and once s19 d10. These mistakes seem to have troubled early readers, for there are marginal notes.

Although the problems in this manuscript are not, in general, arranged in definite groups according to subject matter, there is a group of thirteen questions on the measurements of lengths and areas contained in chapters 127-139. Of these geometrical problems, seven consider pieces of land of various shapes. In two chapters (127-128) it is required to find the "distance between the corners." One piece is a square, 20 on a side, and the other piece is 30 by 40. The next piece of land is "in the form of a shield," 20 on a side. It is required to find how many *braccia* there are from the top to the bottom. This really amounts to asking for the altitude of an equilateral triangle whose side is 20. In chapter 131 the distance from corner to corner of a square piece is given to find the length of a side. The last three chapters ask for areas. In one case it is a square, 60 *braccia* on a side, and in another a rectangle, 80 *braccia* by 40. In the third, the piece has sides 20, 30, 40 and 50. The method recommended is to divide the sum of 20 and 40 by 2 and likewise take $\frac{1}{2}$ the sum of 30 and 50 and then take the product of these two results, giving 1200. The diagram of this field is very inaccurately made. By actual measurement, the sides marked 20, 30, 40 and 50 are to each other as 5, 4, 6, 4. There are two problems on the circle (130 and 132). In the first of these, it is required to find the "turning" of the circle, if "half through" the circle is 7. The rule is to multiply $3\frac{1}{4}$ by 7. In the other problem the length of the diameter is required where the "turning" is 20. By applying the rule of three to the other circle

problem, the diameter is found to be $6\frac{1}{11}$. The pictures appearing with these problems are quite simple outlines, apparently sketched in freehand, without any attempt at drawing to scale. But for the other four geometrical problems, which relate to towers, there are more pretentious illustrations. In one chapter, 133, a tower is 30 *braccia* from a fountain. Its height is required, if the distance from the fountain to the top of the tower is 50 *braccia*. The next problem differs from this in requiring the distance from the foot of the tower. In the next chapter there is a 10-*braccia* ladder leaning against a 10-*braccia* tower. If the foot of the ladder is 6 *braccia* from the foot of the tower, how far from the top of the tower does it reach? Then comes a more elaborate problem, with two towers of unequal heights, standing in a market square, and two falcons which are to fly from the tops of the towers to a spot in the market square so situated that the falcons are to fly equal distances.

We have noticed incidentally in the preceding pages how the life of the times is reflected in the subject matter of the problems. It may be worth while to dwell for a few moments upon this point. Some of the financial problems give, as part of their data, the prices of various articles. Cloth, for instance, by the hundred *braccia* (a measure of length) varies from lb72 s19 d7 to lb76 s4 d9. Nine *braccia* are quoted at lb12, seven and one-half at lb12 s18 d1; 1 *br.* is listed once at s25 and again at s16. The price of pepper is lb23 per hundred pounds and wax varies from lb13 to lb33. Different grades of wool run from lb150 to lb48 s16 d2 per thousand pounds. A house is sold for lb402 s17 d1 $\frac{5}{12}$. The prices of horses are quoted at lb44 s5, lb61 and lb500. One fish cost s5. In fifteen chapters, one or more of the metals, gold, silver and copper, are mentioned. Cloth appears seven times and wax and wool three times each, pepper, sulphur, balm, stone and marble are each found once. Towers figure in six questions and vases in four. A palace, a boat and a cask with pipes appear twice; a fountain, a house, a market square, a

spear, a ladder, a chessboard, dominoes and articles of clothing are found but once each. A river is mentioned twice, but each time the boat that crosses the river is so small that it cannot carry more than two passengers at a time. Of the animals, the goat, the wolf and falcons appear but once each; pigeons enter into two problems, horses are bought in three others and fish are purchased or weighed three times. Trees furnish the material for four problems, but the apple is the only variety specified. In cases in which a person is referred to by some more definite title than a "man," we find one appearance each for a merchant, a lady, five guards, and three men and their wives. Couriers run through three problems and a countryman appears twice, while two companions are mentioned seven times and three companions four times. When they are found in the woods with money or merchandise to be divided up, we get a side light on the probable lack of security of property in that period. Workmen are busy in three problems. In two of these, where they are building palaces, they are to receive fixed wages for working days but are to forfeit specified sums for every idle day.

In a manuscript of this period the rates of interest are not stated in per cent, but if turned into per cents they will probably mean more to the modern reader. The rate is 20% or higher in all cases except two, one being 10% and the other $4\frac{4}{5}\%$. This last rate is so remarkably low for this period that I suspect a scribal error. The highest rate is 38%. Such rates as these throw some light on the attitude of some people in the Middle Ages towards the taking of interest. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that some of the money was lent upon very bad security. The coins mentioned most frequently in the problems relating to exchange of money are those of Pisa, Cortona and Ravenna, and the Papal coins. In chapter 61 a man moves from France to Pisa and then to Genoa and finally to Florence, gaining financially by each move.

In the long table previously referred to, we find a rich

store of information regarding the kinds of coins that were current, the places from which they came and their relative values. The coins are of gold, silver, copper and alloys, and there are old and new varieties of many species. The florin may also be *gibelline* or *ghuelfi*, and there is the diminutive *florinello*. The gold florin is valued at 45s. In this connection it is interesting to note that according to Villari's *Florentine History*, the gold florin was worth 32s in 1282 and 60s in 1331. There are also *migliaresi*, *doblieri* (doubloons) of Morocco and elsewhere, *perperi*, *reale* of Marseilles and other places, and "Brectangnini dibretangna" (*sic*). Saracen, Moslem and Byzantine coins are mentioned and also those from France, Portugal and Provence. Amongst the cities whose coins are dealt with, we might note Bologna, Bergamo, Cologne, Cortona, Corbetta, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, Lyons, Marseilles, Paris, Pisa, Regensburg, Rome, Siena, Toulouse, Tours, Tunis, Venice, Verona, Viterbo and Volterra.

In attempting to find the source of the material of this manuscript, a student familiar with the history of mathematics would naturally ask whether the author got any of his material from the writings of Leonardo of Pisa (*filius Bonacci*), who is usually called Fibonacci. In his extensive travels, Fibonacci had become acquainted with the Hindu-Arabic numeration and with Greek mathematics as it was known to the Arabs. This material he incorporated in his writings, adapting it to his own time and adding much that was new. His *Liber Abaci* appeared first in 1202 and his *Practica Geometriae* in 1220. No attempt will be made here to compare each of the hundred and forty-one chapters of this Italian manuscript with the Latin treatises of Fibonacci, although I expect to publish such an exhaustive comparison elsewhere. In the present study I am simply noting some of the differences of form and selecting a few chapters which are especially interesting for purposes of comparison. References are made to the edition of his collected works pub-

lished by Baldassarre Boncompagni in Rome in 1857 and 1862.

The *Liber Abaci* begins with an explanation of the use of the nine Hindu-Arabic digits and zero in writing numbers. Fibonacci gives some numbers written according to this system, which was new to most of his readers, and then written in the Roman numerals, with which they were familiar. Throughout his writings he uses Roman numerals from time to time, frequently employing both systems in one problem. In at least one case he mixes the two systems in writing one number—XXX3 for 33 (II, p. 235). There is also an explanation of the old finger reckoning (I, p. 5), which an Italian merchant of the thirteenth century, trading in the bazaars of the Orient, could have employed as a quick and effective means of communication in bargaining with men of many foreign tongues. In writing a mixed number, Fibonacci places the fractional part to the left of the integral, as $\frac{1}{2}16$ for sixteen and one-half. In financial problems the names of the coins are usually written out in full. In those cases in which the *libra*, *soldus* and *denarius* system is employed, the smaller denominations are usually given as fractions of the *libra*; for example, the sum *librae* 11, *soldi* 7, *denarii* 5 is written $\frac{5}{12} \frac{7}{20} 11$ (I, p. 91). In subtraction the work is begun on the right-hand side. After Fibonacci has explained the fundamental operations with integers and then with fractions (seven chapters), he proceeds to groups of problems involving the purchase and sale of merchandise, barter, alloying of metals, partnership, etc. (pp. 84-352). In chapters 14 and 15 (one hundred and seven pages), he explains square and cube roots and then takes up proportion, some questions in geometry and “algebre et almuchabale.” This latter is not our modern symbolic algebra but the so-called rhetorical algebra, where everything is written out in full. The second volume of Fibonacci’s collected writings contains not only his elaborate *Practica Geometriae* but also some shorter papers on various mathematical topics.

In contrast to Fibonacci, the author of our manuscript assumes a knowledge of the Hindu-Arabic numeration and employs it throughout his work. The only use made of Roman numerals is in the C and M for 100 and 1000 pounds or *braccia* of merchandise and the one appearance of D for 500. In mixed numbers the fractional part is written to the right. In problems involving money the abbreviations lb, s' and d' are used. In subtraction the work is begun on the left-hand side. No mention is made of cube root and there is no attempt to explain the reasons for the rules, and the problems on the measurements of lengths and areas display but a scant knowledge of a few theorems of plane geometry. In the case of the irregular quadrilateral, the incorrect method employed was not copied from Fibonacci, for he works a similar problem correctly.

Let us turn to the comparison of some of the problems of the two books. The first problem in the manuscript that suggests Fibonacci is found in chapter 5. The story may be told in this way: Three companions were in partnership, but we do not know how much money they had. One was to have $\frac{1}{2}$ of their money, another $\frac{1}{3}$, and the third $\frac{1}{6}$. When it was time to divide their money, they began to snatch from one another, quite heedless of their contract. Finally they agreed that the man whose share was $\frac{1}{2}$ should give up $\frac{1}{2}$ of what he had snatched and the man whose share was $\frac{1}{3}$ should release $\frac{1}{3}$ of what he had seized and likewise with the third companion. Then each received $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sum of the amounts given up. It is stated that they had s47. The first snatched s33, the second s13, and the third s1. There is no clue as to the method by which the s47 was obtained. If we work it by algebra it turns out an indeterminate problem, of which 47 is one possible solution. Fibonacci gives this problem, in a slightly different form, in three places (I, p. 293 and p. 335, and II, p. 234). He gives elaborate solutions. In the second volume he says that this problem was proposed to him by Master John of Palermo.

In our manuscript chapter 57 relates to a tree so placed

that $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of it are under ground, while 12 *braccia* are above ground. Its height is asked for. Fibonacci has a set of five tree problems (beginning with I, p. 173). In the first of these there is a tree which has $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ of its total height below the ground. If this amounts to 21 *palmi*, what is the height of the tree? The other four tree problems show slight variations. In our manuscript trees are also mentioned in chapter 72 (where a tree with 94 apples on it is owned by a lady and protected by 5 guards), in chapter 93 (where a tree is used as a resting place by pigeons in flight), and in chapter 140. This last problem contains a tree and a tower each 20 *braccia* in height. If the foot of the tree were placed 10 *braccia* from the foot of the tower, and the top placed against the tower, how far from the top of the tower would it reach? This problem reminds the reader of the 10-*braccia* ladder leaning against the 10-*braccia* tower, with their bases 6 *braccia* apart (chapter 135). Both of these are variations of a problem given by Fibonacci (I, p. 397), where a spear of XX feet (note the Roman numerals) stands against a tower. If the foot of the spear is removed 12 feet from the tower, how far down the tower does its top move?

Following the ladder problem in this manuscript is the problem with the open square and the two towers and the two falcons. This suggests a problem given by Fibonacci in two places (I, p. 331 and p. 398). Two towers of 30 and 40 feet are situated 50 feet apart. There is a fountain between them. If two birds starting from the tops of the towers at the same time and flying at the same rate reach the center of the fountain at the same time, how far is it from each tower? It is interesting to compare the three solutions. Fibonacci solves the problem the first time in this way. He supposes that the fountain is 10 feet from the taller tower. Then 10 multiplied by 10 gives 100 and 40 by itself gives 1600 and the sum is 1700. The remaining space (40) multiplied by itself and added to the product of the height of the lower tower (30) by itself gives 2500. But 1700 is not the same as 2500. The fountain should be

further from the taller tower. Try 15. Then 15 multiplied by itself and added to 1600 gives 1825. And the remaining distance, 35, multiplied by itself gives 1225. This added to 900 gives 2125, which is not equal to 1825. The difference here is 300 and before it was 800. If adding 5 to the distance between the taller tower and the fountain decreases the difference between the two sums by 500, then the actual distance is obtained by adding to 15 the result of dividing the product of 5 and 300 by 500. The distance to the shorter tower is $50-18$, or 32. Fibonacci verifies his answer by noting that the multiplication of 18 by itself added to the product of 40 by itself, equals the sum of the product of 32 by itself and the product of 30 by itself. The solution on p. 398 is different. A diagram is drawn with the towers lettered dg and ba. At the midpoint (e) of the line segment (ag) joining the tops of the towers the perpendicular is erected, cutting the ground line (db) at z. Through e the line (ef) is drawn parallel to dg and ba. It is stated that ef is 35, df is 25. Also 35 less 30 is 5. Then 5 times 35 divided by 25 is 7. Hence fz is 7 and hence z (the fountain) is 32 feet from dg and 18 feet from ba. This amounts to a solution by similar triangles. In this manuscript, where the heights of the towers are 70 and 100 and their distance apart is 150, the solution is as follows: 150 times 150 gives 22,500 and 70 times 70 gives 4900. Add these and subtract 100 times 100, giving 17,400. Divide by 2 and then by 150, giving 58, the distance from the taller tower. No reasons are given for this method of procedure. The solution is interesting when compared with a solution by algebra. If x represents the distance to the taller tower, then

$$10000+x^2=22500-300x+x^2+4900.$$

The principle involved in the tree problem of chapter 57 is also found in this manuscript in other places, for example, in the vase and fish problems of chapters 86 and 87. If $\frac{1}{4}$ of the weight of a vase is in its base and $\frac{2}{5}$ in the middle part and the remainder weighs 10 ounces, what is

the total weight? The head and tail of a fish weigh $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{6}$ of the whole, and the middle part weighs 9 ounces. Fibonacci has problems on vases and other things involving this same principle.

Another problem of this manuscript which resembles one in Fibonacci is found in chapter 67. A pigeon on a 10-*br.* tower moves down $\frac{2}{3}$ of a *br.* each day but ascends $\frac{1}{3}$ *br.* and $\frac{1}{4}$ *br.* each night. It is required to find how many days the pigeon will need to complete its descent. Fibonacci (I, p. 177) has a lion in a pit which is 50 *palmi* deep. If he ascends $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *palmus* daily but also descends $\frac{1}{6}$, how long will it take him to get out?

In this manuscript there are two wine cask problems (chapters 66 and 141). The first cask has five pipes which can empty it in $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{5}$, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a day respectively. The numbers 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 are added, giving 20. Then it is stated that when all pipes are flowing at once they empty the cask in $\frac{1}{20}$ of a day. The other cask problem has only three pipes. Fibonacci gives examples of wine casks which can be emptied by each of four openings in a specified time (I, p. 183). The cask problem is interesting as one variation of a typical problem which, in one form or another, has lasted for centuries. In a short article, "On the Origin of Certain Typical Problems," David Eugene Smith has given an account of the history of this problem, starting with Heron. I might add that it is from its modern form, "A can do a piece of work in 6 days, B in 5 days, etc.," that Stephen Leacock has written his amusing essay on A, B, and C (*Literary Lapses*).

Let us try another comparison. In chapter 115 there is a description of a game which might be called "Finding the Ring." There are a number of persons in a room and one has the ring. It is desired to discover not only who has the ring but upon which hand and upon which finger and upon which part of the finger he has placed it. The company are seated in a row, the person who makes the explanations being number 1. He tells the person who has the ring to count his position in the row, double that num-

ber, add 5 to the product and then multiply the sum by 5, and then add 10. If the ring is in the right hand add 2, if in the left, add 1. Multiply the whole sum by 10. Then add a number indicating the particular finger, using 1 for the thumb, 2 for the index finger, 3 for the middle finger, 4 for the next, and 5 for the little finger. Multiply the sum by 10 and add a number indicating the part of the finger upon which the ring is placed, using 1 for the end, 2 for the middle, and 3 for the lowest part (*i.e.*, nearest the palm). Then let the person who has the ring tell what the final result is. The person who makes the explanations then subtracts 3500 and in the remainder the number of thousands shows the position of the person in the row. If there are 200, the ring is on the right hand, if 100, on the left. The tens indicate the finger. The unit, 1, 2, or 3, tells whether the ring is on the end, middle or lowest part of the finger. Thus, if the final sum were 9751, subtracting 3500 would give 6251. Hence it was the sixth person in the row who had the ring on the upper part of the little finger of the right hand.

Fibonacci has a similar problem (I, p. 305). The chief difference is that instead of counting the hands and fingers separately, he counts the fingers up to 10, starting with the little finger of the left hand as 1, calling the thumb of the right hand 10. He has a final result of only 3 digits, instead of 4, and subtracts 350 instead of 3500. In the next five chapters in this manuscript there are similar problems involving three numbers. For example, in chapter 118, if you wish to know how many spots there are on each of three dominoes, double the number of spots on the first, add 5, take 5 times the sum, add 10, add the number of spots on the second domino, multiply the sum by 10 and then add the number of spots on the third domino. From the final result subtract 350. The number of hundreds will give the number of spots on the first domino; the number of tens the number of spots on the second; and the number of units is the number of spots on the third domino. In Fibonacci a problem on dice

similar to this problem on dominoes precedes the problem on finding the ring. These problems are in a subdivision of the *Liber Abaci* entitled *De quibus divinationibus*.

The problem of the "duplication of the chessboard" and a whole series of allied questions are taken up by Fibonacci soon after the problem of the ring (p. 309). In this manuscript the chessboard problem is given in chapter 88, twenty-seven chapters before the ring game. To each of the 64 "houses" or squares of the chessboard a number is assigned. Each is double the preceding number. Starting with the lower right-hand square, going up the first column to the right, they are numbered 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, and 128. It is then stated that the correct rule is to say 16 times 16 is 256; and 256 multiplied by 256 gives 65536; and 65536 times itself gives 4294967296, which multiplied by itself gives 18446744073709551616. To the right of this last number a 5 is written enclosed in a circle. A statement is made that this is the sum of the houses if each is doubled. In Fibonacci there is a more elaborate treatment. After getting the first four numbers, 1, 2, 4, 8, he notices that if 1 is added to their sum, the result (16) is the fifth number; also, if 1 is added to the sum of the first 8 numbers the result (256) is the ninth number. He notes that 16 times 16 gives 256. Again 256 times 256 gives one more than the sum of the first 16 numbers. Finally he obtains the sum of the 64 numbers. Fibonacci proceeds further with the doubling process, getting a number of thirty-nine digits. He adds many problems, such as the ancient example of the 7 old women going to Rome, each with 7 mules, each carrying 7 sacks, each holding 7 loaves of bread, each containing 7 knives, each having 7 scabbards. He has also a problem of the tree with 100 branches, on each of which there were 100 nests, etc. There is one of these problems (p. 313) that appears in this manuscript. It is the example of the man with 100 *bizantii* (lb in this manuscript). If he gives $\frac{1}{10}$ of his wealth and then $\frac{1}{10}$ of the remainder and does this 12 times, how much is left? Here this problem is in chapter

63, twenty-five chapters before that of the chessboard. It is interesting to compare the forms of the answers. Here it is $\text{lb}28 \text{ s}4 \text{ d}10 \frac{3}{10} \frac{8}{10} \frac{8}{10} \frac{8}{10} \frac{7}{10} \frac{5}{10} \frac{4}{10} \frac{4}{10} \frac{0}{10} \frac{0}{10}$. In Fibonacci it is written $\frac{1}{10} \frac{8}{10} \frac{4}{10} \frac{6}{10} \frac{3}{10} \frac{5}{10} \frac{9}{10} \frac{2}{10} \frac{4}{10} \frac{2}{10} 28$.

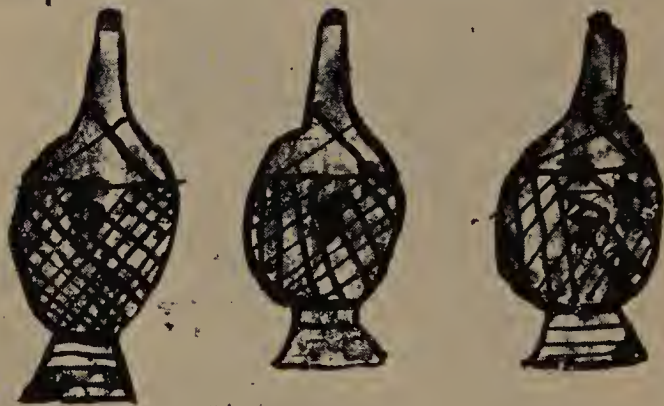
Perhaps the examples already cited are sufficient to show that some problems have practically the same form in the two books and others are of the same general type but differ in local setting. It seems probable that our author was much indebted to Fibonacci, either directly, or else indirectly through the writings of someone else who had taken material from the works of the celebrated Pisan. On the other hand, as many of Fibonacci's problems are not in our manuscript and as our author gives three problems (chapters 122-124) and the long table of coins which bear no resemblance to anything in Fibonacci's writings, we may conclude that he was not merely a servile imitator. He made selections of the material most useful to his readers and arranged it in a form and employed a technique suited to their tastes and needs. He added other material and made financial matters the central theme of his book.

Let us now turn to the three problems of chapters 122-124. In the first problem, a countryman who has a wolf, a goat and a bundle of herbs wishes to cross a river. If the boat is so small that he can carry only one of his possessions at a time, how can he make the crossings so that the wolf will not devour the goat and the goat will not eat the herbs? The solution given is correct. There is a charmingly naïve illustration of the latter part of the first voyage. A tiny crescent-shaped boat is poised airily upon the tiny waves. The goat is standing with its four feet apparently on the edge of the boat and the armless and motionless man is casting longing eyes at the shore while the wolf, standing on the other bank, is looking hungrily toward the boat. In the next problem there are two companions who have eight ounces of balm in an eight-ounce vase. They wish to divide it equally between them but have only two other vessels, one holding three ounces

Uno uillano auca uno lupo e una capra e
 uno fascio d'erba enole passàe uno fiume
 ch'una naue che nō pōta sinone lo uillano
 elo lupo elo uillano ch'la capra elo uillano
 ch'lo fascio dell'erba adomando ch'ome s'pōta dal
 l'altra pāte ch'elo lupo nō m'agi la capra o la cap
 nō m'agn l'erba noj deuemo pōtare la capra e
 puoj lo lupo ercha la capra emecte gioso la
 pra epōta lo fascio dell'erba epuoj pōta la capra
 e sonno passati dall'altra parte.



Sonno ⁊ congiungu ch'anno g'oncie
 di balsimo in una anpolla chetiene g'on
 cie euolemo partire questo balsimo ch'on
 duo anpolle chelluna tiene 4 oncie ellaltra
 ⁊ addomando chome si puote partire ch'anc
 ste ⁊ anpolle p' ⁊ noj denemo fae' ch'osi de
 nemo in prima enpiere lanpolla dele ⁊ e
 notarla in quella dele 4 anco renpie' quel
 la dele ⁊ euotarla sopra quella dele 4 ch'e
 cienta ⁊ ermane. 1. enota le 4 sopra allor
 to elluna mette in quella dele 4 edenpie' lo
 ⁊ emette in quella dele 4 ch'endernera. 1.
 ⁊ ⁊ di so sonno ora messi e sonno q



and the other five. How can they do it? The solution given is that of filling the three-ounce vase first. The third problem tells of three companions and their wives who wish to cross a stream. Here, again, the boat is so small that it can accommodate only two persons at a time. How can they all get to the other shore, if no man is to cross with another man's wife? A solution is given. These problems are shown in the illustrations.

These three problems belong to the type of old mathematical puzzles whose popularity has waxed and waned through many centuries. They are likely to be found in any modern collection of mathematical recreations. For instance, Ball's *Mathematical Recreations and Problems* (1896) contains all three, although the man has replaced the bundle of herbs by a basket of cabbages and the two companions have become three robbers with four vessels holding 24, 13, 11 and 5 ounces. In the fifth edition (1884) of Bachet's popular book, *Problèmes plaisants et délectables* (which originally appeared in 1612), two of our three problems are found. After the two usual solutions of the question with 8-, 5-, and 3-ounce vases, there are variations with vessels of 16, 9, 7 and of 16, 11, 6 and of 42, 27, 12 (pp. 138-147). Immediately following there is the problem of the three jealous husbands, with a variation of four couples and then of n men and their wives. The method used in our manuscript in the game of the ring is used (p. 52) to discover four digits which someone else has selected.

In attempting to find earlier sources of these three problems and of the inaccurate method used in finding the area of an irregular quadrilateral, I have consulted the modern editions of the writings of Boethius (480-524), Alcuin (736-804), al Khwarizmi (early part of the ninth century), Johannes Hispalensis (about 1140) and Sacrobosco (died 1256). Apparently nothing in our manuscript was taken directly from any one of the three last mentioned. But the quadrilateral problem bears a decided resemblance to a question in the geometry of Boethius,

popular in the Middle Ages as well for his treatises on arithmetic and geometry, as for his *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. In Friedlein's edition of 1867, on pages 417-418 the area of a quadrilateral whose sides are VIII, IV, VI and II is found by multiplying the half sum of the two *larger* sides by the half sum of the two *smaller* sides, the result being XXI. In the *Propositiones ad Acuendos Juvenes*, which is usually attributed to Alcuin, we find the problem of the three men and their wives and the question of the man, the wolf and the goat (Propositions XVII and XVIII). We also note several propositions which are of the same type as certain problems in our manuscript.

The study of this manuscript leads me to suspect that it was written in Florence little more than a century after the appearance of the *Liber Abaci* of Fibonacci and that it was intended primarily as a textbook either for merchants and bankers or for the commercial schools in which young men were trained for those occupations. Galvani's opinion that this manuscript was of the fourteenth century is confirmed by the form of the language, by the technique and content, and by the value of the gold florin (45s, which probably indicates a date between 1282 and 1331). The manuscript was evidently written for the benefit of persons who had little interest in the theoretical parts of arithmetic and geometry but who desired working rules which could be readily applied to certain types of questions. The prominence given to bankers' problems involving interest and exchange of coins of many cities and to the questions concerning cloth and wool seems to point to Florence, the great center of the banking business and of the cloth industry. Contributory evidence is also to be found in the long table of coins and in certain problems—such, for example, as the one concerning the man who traveled from France to Pisa and then to Genoa and finally to Florence. The absence of problems involving seafaring vessels furnishes negative evidence. But whether or not this conjecture regarding Florence is true,

the manuscript is valuable as a document which throws light upon one period in the development of mathematics. It furnishes an illustration of the fact that the mathematics and the other forms of activity of any age are closely interwoven and are mutually dependent upon one another.

Before closing I wish to express my indebtedness to Professor David Eugene Smith of Columbia University, who suggested this particular manuscript for study and gave valuable suggestions and criticisms; and to Mr. Frederic W. Erb of the Columbia University Library, through whose courtesy it was possible to study the manuscript in that library and to have a photostat made for further study.

THE REALISM OF GOTHIC
SCULPTURE



BY OLIVER SAMUEL TONKS

THE REALISM OF GOTHIC SCULPTURE

WHEN, in the sixth century before our era, a certain Greek sculptor finished one of his works and then in the joyous enthusiasm of creation signed it, "Alxenor the Naxian made it; just look at it," he only voiced the awakened artistic consciousness of the Hellenic race.¹ The relief he wrought represents merely some Bæotian gentleman leaning upon his staff to hold out a grasshopper to a dog that fawns against his knee. Yet the homely motive was new and the surface caressingly soft in execution, and these facts in themselves were sufficiently noteworthy to warrant the naïve signature. This frank, fresh boast was well merited, for back through a darkened period of artistic desolation Greek sculptors had created only pathetically shapeless forms which, under the most liberal interpretation, could have been to these ancient folk but symbols of the things represented. Throughout those bleak days from the time of the coming of the barbarous Dorian down to the seventh century, Helladic genius, broken by the impact of a savage invasion and forgetting to look upon nature as it had done in the affluent period of Mycenæan supremacy, contented itself with the crudest statement of the human form. Back in those golden days of Mycenæan art, however, artists had appreciated the manifold aspects of their environment. So native to them, in fact, was this naturalistic quality, that during the several gloomy centuries wherein the Dorian was being transformed into a Greek, this characteristic, although temporarily submerged, re-

¹ Collignon, *Hist. sculpt. grecque*, I, p. 255, fig. 124.

mained alive, eventually to arise to the surface as perhaps the dominant feature of Greek art.

These empty centuries could boast of no monumental art. The human mind at that time seems to have been incapable of thinking in large terms. Perhaps intellectual stimuli were missing. At all events, art expressed itself in the creation of minor objects, and over this fragile bridge of the lesser crafts it passed forward into classic times. Then, gradually freeing itself from such cramping as the practice of these minor arts imposed, it turned more and more to the study of man and his environment, until at length Alxenor could exultantly sign his finished work in the pride of the thing accomplished.

While, chronologically, it is a far cry from Alxenor's relief to the Gothic art of France, spiritually it is not so; for in much the same way, by borrowing and backward-looking, did French sculpture come to its perfection. By and large the mental outlook of Greek and of Gothic artist is the same.

Fully to appreciate Gothic art and to see its comparability with the great art of Greece, one, briefly at least, must survey the centuries which in France run antecedent to the eleventh. It will be remembered that, after the Roman Empire began to disintegrate, virtually because of its unwieldy vastness, and with increasing force the barbarian streams swept in across its boundaries, Gaul, which Caesar had so bravely turned into a Roman province, quickly forgetting the civilization of its Italian conquerors, returned to a state approximating its aboriginal condition. There remained behind, of course, a certain percentage of Roman colonists whose children became a new strain in the stock of the land; certain habits of thought persisted; and certain architectural sculptures and ruins remained to recall a civilized past. But on the whole, the country returned to its original state so that when the Christian missionaries of Rome adventured north, as did Augustine into Britain, they found to all intents and purposes a virgin soil upon which to work.

Gradually their wattle-and-daub buildings gave way to more durable structures in stone, while at the same time their monasteries became the *foci* of what culture there was in the land. With the establishment of these religious and educational centers came such art as was essential to the needs of the community—the illuminated books, the small ivories, and such metal work as belonged to the religious service of the orders. Monumental art there was not, for the reason that in these first centuries of our era even Rome had no art of which to boast. Italy, artistically at least, had sunk into an abyss of impotence almost as deep as that of France. Practically what was worth while emanated from the East—notably from Constantinople. The age was one of small things; and by these, as in the dark ages of preclassic Greece, was bridged the gap from the last Roman art to the new art of the Romanesque period.

For many years the minor arts supplied the needs of society. Then, with the ambitious plans of the builder-bishops, came the great cathedrals and the attendant need of sculptural dress—both for the instruction of the laity and the decoration of the building. Under these conditions it was inevitable that plastic art on a truly monumental scale should develop. When it did develop, there followed in its train the necessity of representing both man and beast in a more or less ambitious fashion. A true appreciation of nature did not exist at this time, but the direction in which the human mind was turning is indicated by the later *Speculum* of Vincent of Beauvais. Its conception of nature is of course grotesque, yet it shows a consideration, forced and scholastic as it may be, of the various forms of life upon this planet. Even the naïve bestiary is, so to speak, a straw which shows that the wind was blowing in the right direction.

It is profitless to go back to the Carlovingian period to look for an appreciation of nature, for sculpture was then, at best, a sorry thing. In appearance it was not far different from, and undoubtedly no better than, such

abortive reliefs as we find in the tribune of the organ of St. Philibert of Tournus.² From such truly barbarous representations of the human form, knowledge of anatomy is practically lacking. Like the crude statues of the pre-classic Amorgine type, they are simply records of fact touching the several physical features. A savage could hardly have done worse.

The slowness of sculpture in coming to perfection may have been due, in a measure, to its practical obliteration in the dark ages, and may have resulted in part from a feeling that sculptured form, so far as it concerns man and beast, was out of place on religious buildings. To a degree the old Jewish anathema seems to have rested upon this practice, if we may judge from the fulminations of Bernard of Clairvaux.

Slow though monumental sculpture was in coming into being, come it eventually did. Its first attempts, as one might expect, expose a most meager equipment on the artist's part. His poverty is seen in the little Roussillo-naise church of St. Genis-des-Fontaines,³ for while he felt that the lintel should show decoration, he failed to understand that this decoration should grow, as it were, out of its environment. He therefore looked for a source of information, and this we may readily believe he found in some box of Byzantine workmanship, which a neighboring cleric perhaps placed in his hands. The flowing vine-pattern and the little mannikins, each neatly tucked away in its own separate niche, offer too close a parallel with Byzantine workmanship to allow anyone to think readily of any other source of inspiration. The style, however, is pitifully inferior to the reminiscences of classic grace found in good Byzantine work. Something of Greek vitality does abide in the treatment of the vine-pattern, which as a more or less well-defined design depended for its attractiveness particularly upon its chiseling. The little chessman-like figures, on the other hand, standing

² Michel, *Histoire de l'art*, I, pt. II, p. 591, fig. 319.

³ Lasteyrie, *Arch. religieuse*, pp. 637-638, fig. 641.

snugly in their own little niches and reminding one of figures seen upon certain early Christian sarcophagi, suggest possibly that the sculptor may have had one of these in mind. They are so innocent of human reality, so rigidly devoid of movement, and so far from true in facial formation, that one sees how, even as late as the close of the second decade of the eleventh century, naturalism was as yet an unopened book to the sculptors of France.

Nor is this a matter for surprise. Even in more advanced Italy it was more than a century after this that Wiligelmus produced sculptured forms which have little to boast of in comparison with the quaint figures of St. Genis-des-Fontaines. Two centuries, in fact, were to elapse before Niccolo of Pisa showed his struggling brothers-in-art how to represent the human form in a realistic, noble style.

At all times, of course, one must bear in mind that the church building, whether it be so small as St. Genis-des-Fontaines, or so large as the churches of Vézelay, Moissac or Chartres, was the product of the minds of the clergy. The abbots and bishops with their underlings supplied the plans and out of their scholasticism evolved the elaborate schemes which in sculptural form were to tell of the mystery of the fall and redemption of man. It was only natural then that the clerics should be at hand to urge on the workmen to the fulfillment of the ideal which had been born in their own minds. For this reason, when it became necessary for the local stonecutter to produce a figure, a relief, or more than that, an extended scheme of sculptured decoration, it was bound to happen that the treasures of the particular monastery should be opened to the sculptor. We can easily imagine that, when, say, the "Visitation" was the chosen theme, the good abbot turned the pages of the illuminated books before the enraptured eyes of the sculptor, or allowed him gingerly but with absorbing interest to handle the carved ivory reliquaries, or to study the reliefs beaten in gold upon this or that object used in the service of the church. These

easily transmitted treasures had been handed down year after year; and in them the clumsy, local workman found an abundance of suggestion which might help him in carrying out the ideas of his clerical masters.

Under such tutelage as this the sculptor progressed, showing in his art the stylistic influence which happened to predominate in the treasury of the monastery for which he worked. At times his figures might hint of the remembrance of Byzantine miniatures, or of those modified forms produced in the monasteries of France, while again the drapery and proportions of the forms might retain the flavor of the style of the ivory boxes which came into the North from the Orient. When the monastery was rich in its possessions, his figures might show a fusion of several styles emanating from woven fabric, beaten metal, painted page, or carved ivory. In any case, from these minor arts French sculpture borrowed so long as it was necessary for it to support itself by taking from others. Occasionally, and this was true particularly in southern France, more imposing remains in the form of early Christian or even Roman sarcophagi gave the sculptor a chance to study a more monumental art.

This is no slur upon French genius. In a like fashion doubtless worked Alxenor of Naxos and his predecessors, and in a similar way Niccolo Pisano borrowed from earlier arts. It was in truth in this wise that the French sculptor acquired mastery over his material. His progress, as a matter of fact, was astonishingly fast when one remembers what he had upon which to build. In this connection it should be remembered that when Andrea Pisano finished his Baptistry doors early in the fifteenth century, Gothic art had already germinated, flowered, withered and faded away.

It is therefore not surprising to find that a century after the clumsy workman of St. Genis-des-Fontaines had made his timid adventure in representing the human form, the capitals of Notre-Dame-du-Pont, in Clermont,⁴

⁴ Marcou, *Mus. sculpt. compar.*, pl. X.

should show real power in modeling the human head. On one, which shows a man presenting a capital to an angel, the features have not only fairly well approximated a normal formation, but the types themselves in spite of their archaic severity have an appearance hinting of a national type instead of the stylized forms of Italy or Byzantium. Gaucheries persist to be sure, but the fact remains that those who carved these capitals were more interested in copying nature than in imitating the works of other men. This expresses itself, naïvely perhaps, in the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden, wherein the sculptor, with a view to being as realistic as possible, has represented Adam as venting his spite by kicking Eve in the ribs. Amusing as is this incident, it illustrates the point that French sculpture was striving to make its scenes real; and this, be it remembered, was a century before Niccolò Pisano in Italy was able to cut his figures in a realistic style.

While copies helped to form the style of the French sculptors, the sensitive temperament of these men was also quick to feel the urge of environment. This can be no better illustrated perhaps than in the art of Languedoc, where French culture was particularly brilliant. Its poetic temperament and refinement are reflected in the verve of some of the figures of the splendid church of Moissac,⁵ in whose noticeable expression of lively action one beholds an art reacting to the vivacity of its environment. In a word, something more than a mere indebtedness to earlier works is seen here; nature is beginning to present herself to the sculptor as his proper model.

The same elegance, derived from a highly developed and even mannered culture, is to be seen in one of the most important series of sculptures belonging to the school—the figures of the apostles from the church of St. Stephen of Toulouse.⁶ It is probable that the sculptor of these reliefs had before him ivory carvings or even an-

⁵ Marcou, *Mus. sculpt. compar.*, pl. XX.

⁶ Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, p. 624, pl. VII.

cient sarcophagi, but, on the other hand, the peculiar dancing movement produced by the crossing of the legs, and the attendant sweeping motion of the drapery can have come only from the artist's desire to reproduce the effect of a movement observed in nature. In spite of its mannerism the work is distinguished enough to warrant the sculptor, Gilabertus, in describing himself as a man not unknown to fame. A certain exquisite movement and affected gesture remind one of the archaic female statues of the Acropolis in Athens. The sculptor's aim is manifestly to make his figures live; and since the culture around him was one of courtly refinement he naturally gave his figures that mincing quality which to him seemed the ultimate expression of natural grace. He strove—and achieved; and, like his ancient brother-in-blood, Alxenor of Naxos, pleased with his work, he signed it jubilantly, “*Vir non incertus me celavit, Gilabertus.*” Both had turned from cold copies to warm nature; both were conscious of success; and both, in the fine consciousness of artistic creation, voiced their estimation of themselves in no uncertain terms. Gothic art, like its older sister, was tired of imitating the work of others and was trembling on the verge of naturalism.

As yet there is a deliciously quaint mingling of ideas taken from nature with mannerisms borrowed from other sources. On the tympana of Vézelay, for example, a fresh, unsophisticated movement is conspicuous, quite of a piece with the naïve vivacity of Moissac; but the whipping, agitated drapery of these apostles of the Pentecost of Vézelay,⁷ as touches style, is frankly a transcript from the illuminated books. In the latter, wherein the monkish illuminators delight in rendering the folds of drapery in nicely calculated, parallel, and often concentric lines, the love of design overmasters any thought of following nature, while yet it preserves a decidedly vivacious feeling for movement. At Vézelay, although the sculptor almost literally carried over into stone the mannerisms

⁷ Marcou, *Mus. sculpt. compar.*, pl. XLIII.

peculiar to illumination, he yet had visions of nature and by these agencies sought to reproduce the impression of it.

Nature, however, was to be approximated only in proportion as conventional methods of execution were thrown aside. The preclassic Greek had experienced the same difficulty, for in so primitive a work as the Winged Victory of Delos, the sculptor artificially disposed his drapery quite as much with a view to design, so to speak, as to the natural movement of fabric. To be sure he had no illuminated books to constrain him into certain styles, and, perhaps by the same token, he was so much the luckier. But he must have known the pictures painted upon the vases and in all probability the paintings spread upon the walls of buildings, from both of which he may have derived some of his ideas as to style. So far did he succeed that by the time just anterior to the sack of Athens by the Persians he was able to produce such severely natural figures as the priestesses of the Acropolis.

In much the same fashion worked the sculptor who cut the column figures of the side portal of the cathedral of Mans.⁸ In the disposition of the folds he gave up the obviously artificial arrangement of the drapery of the figures at Vézelay and allowed the cloth to fall in those very simple lines which produce the same effect of austerity as is seen in late archaic Greek work. Possibly this effect on the whole is more natural, even if the free movement of nature is not observed. This properly is due to the artistic instinct which led him to see that, since his figures are rightly corporate parts of an architectural structure, they should have a more or less architectonic character. This same feeling may have contributed to the elongation of form whereby the figures are made to emphasize the vertical effect of the building. The forms have lost the vivacity of Moissac and Vézelay, but in the same proportion have gained in dignity.

The sedateness of the figures of Mans, coupled, however, with an elegance suggesting Vézelay, appears in the

⁸ Fleury, *Portails imagés*, p. 176, fig. 37.

fine figure of Christ seated in a glory over the central door of the western façade of Chartres Cathedral.⁹ The drapery, less artificially disposed than at Moissac, suggests more normally the motion of the figure than any we have yet observed. The result is a happy indication of the form underneath. But perhaps more noticeable than this naturalistic tendency in the drapery is the truly realistic modeling of the head. Even at the start the French sculptor had been disinclined to copy an alien facial type, but, so far as his talent permitted, had turned to a representation of the racial characteristics familiar to him at home. As time went on this ability to present the national character became more developed until in this benevolent head of Christ appears a distinct effect of a portrait. The mouth is so individual as to suggest that the artist worked directly from a model.

By this interest in individual, as distinguished from national, character, the Gothic sculptor takes sides with the modern against the ancient Greek practice. With the Greek the individual as such seems to have been of less importance than the racial, or class, type. Portraits, to be sure, were done—witness those of Sophocles and Demosthenes, to mention no others—but even in these the impression given is that we are faced with a sublimated expression of character. The Gothic sculptor, as here on the western façade of Chartres, displays a peculiar interest in his immediate neighbor. But to say that his mind, therefore, was more alert than that of his Greek brother is hardly fair. He was merely more drawn to the particular. In a word, he was more truly naturalistic.

The difference observable between the slightly affected expressions of the female figures of the Acropolis in Athens and the calmly beautiful, yet slightly archaic, heads of the metopes from the temple of Zeus at Olympia is almost as apparent when one compares the figure of Christ just discussed with the fine head of a scribe¹⁰ from

⁹ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, pl. 23.

¹⁰ Lasteyrie, *Mon. Piot*, VIII, pl. IX.

the door of Saint Anne, Notre Dame, Paris. At best there intervene not much more than twenty years between the two—the Christ dating not far from 1150, while the scribe probably was finished about 1170-1188; yet, in serene beauty and elevation of type, the scribe marks a tremendous advance. With nothing lost in individuality much has been added in sublimity.

The tinge of idealism noted in the statue of Notre Dame disappears from the figure of Saint Trophime in the cloister of his church at Arles,¹¹ where we see markedly a return to an emphasis upon individuality. Whether this head is a true portrait of the saint or not is of little moment. It remains a most realistic visualization of some particular person. One may cavil at the drapery for falling in too straight folds, after the fashion of that at Mans, but its verticality is peculiarly in keeping with the lines of the pillar against which the saint is backed. The anatomy, too, is bad, yet the head is a fine example of the Gothic sculptor's purpose to study nature.

This observation of nature happily implies no such meticulous interest in anatomical accuracy as unpleasantly developed in late Greek art. Rather there is in the French Gothic artist a remarkable sensitiveness to the allurements of grace coupled with a curiosity as to the expression of temperament through the agency of facial expression. It was impossible for him to be held in leash by the sterner, ecclesiastic mind which looked to sculpture in the main as a means of instruction or exhortation. The sculptor was pricked by a truly Gothic liveliness to render his themes as attractively as he could. Something of this we have already seen; and soon in the bloom of Gothic art we shall discover how perhaps the close observation of the habits of social life led to a wish to express vivacity or winsomeness, as the case might be, in as attractive a guise as possible.

Something of this poetic note is struck in the lintel displaying the Death and Resurrection of the Virgin on the

¹¹ Lasteyrie, *Mon. Piot*, VIII, pl. XI.

façade of the church of Notre Dame at Senlis.¹² The work dates at the end of the twelfth century. This poetry is particularly in evidence in the Resurrection, wherein the angels who gather about the tomb move with the graceful daintiness of sprites. The intimacy of the scene reminds one of the mood expressed by the ivory carvings, so much so, in fact, that one might suppose that the artist, in so far as he derived help from any source, had consulted some such work.

At this point we pass into the thirteenth, the greatest of Gothic centuries. So far as it is possible to set milestones along the road followed by any spiritual evolution, it is at this point that the period of preparation ceases and that of achievement begins. But in this connection one ought to bear in mind that France was not the only land awakening artistically, for across the Alps in Italy this was the time of Niccolo and Giovanni Pisano, of Duccio, and of the youth of Giotto. In Italy, however, we are confronted with an art groping towards an ideal, while in France, on the contrary, the period of attempt has passed into that of accomplishment. Indeed, we have every reason to believe that in the second half of the *trecento*, Giovanni from some contact with Gothic sculpture learned that which enabled him to soften the austerity of his Italian-classic style with a suggestion of coquettish grace.

If this French influence upon Giovanni is admitted, it is almost imperative to assume that Italian art in some way was not unfamiliar in France. Since we know this to be the case a century or so later, there is no reason to suppose that the exchange of objects of art was not practised at the time we are discussing. Their presence in France might well account for a certain classicism of feature as well as of manner seen in some Gothic sculpture of the thirteenth century.

Between the arts of these two countries, then, it was apparently a case of give and take. The advantage in some

¹² Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, II, pt. I, p. 142, fig. 98.

respects, nevertheless, lay with France, for, granting that the Italian was as much concerned as the Frenchman with obtaining a naturalistic effect, the latter was unembarrassed by the retarding influence of a great classic past which insisted upon certain canons in the representation of the human form. For this reason the Gothic sculptor could move more freely forward towards a frank interpretation of nature as he understood it. In Italy, the great Giotto worked much in this fresh, Gothic fashion, consulting his environment at all times to the exclusion of a traditional past, with the result that in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, he stands preëminently as the standard-bearer of the naturalistic movement. But even Giotto, untrammelled as he appears at first glance to have been, could not free himself from that reserve which seems an integral quality of all art deriving from the classic. It is this reserve, or stateliness if you please, that occasionally manifests itself in French sculpture, and it is most probably true that when it does appear it arises from some contact with classic traditions.

Yet France moves forward with, as it were, a lighter step. Her artists in all departments were frankly concerned with living nature. Whereas in Italy it was the pleasure of the chroniclers to compare this or that artist whom they favored with artists of a forgotten past, placing them now beside Apelles, now beside Phidias, the Frenchman found no greater glory than in boasting that he had studied nature and, in his own opinion, had succeeded in reproducing its appearance. It is the same primal joy we heard voiced in Alxenor's boast, and it comes from looking forward instead of measuring one's reputation against a traditionally great past.

It is in this mood, for example, that, towards the middle of the thirteenth century, we find a Gothic architect, by name Vilars de Honecort, making the following note concerning a drawing in his portfolio: "This is a lion as he is seen when viewed in front, *and take notice that it*

was drawn from the life.'¹³ The italics are the present writer's, introduced to drive home the point that at least by the mid-thirteenth century we have positive testimony that the naturalistic movement in France was in full stride. Unless we are to suppose that this Vilars ranked high above his fellows and far ahead of his time, which we have no reason to believe, it is only fair to assume that what he boasts of was being tried by other contemporaries and probably had been attempted by his predecessors.

Furthermore, this naturalistic feat of our Gothic friend was not his only one. If one cares to turn the pages of his sketchbook, one will find there a snail crawling from its shell; a bear (which is not mentioned in the bestiaries and therefore probably a study from life); a grasshopper; a cat; a fly; a dragonfly; a crayfish; and a dog. Finally, upon the recto of the twenty-fourth leaf, upon the reverse of which is the lion already noted, is another drawing of the same animal, with the reiterated statement, "Remember that this lion was drawn from life." Going further, one could find drawings of sheep, horses, and even ostriches, of which the last certainly are not to be taken as copies from some other drawing or carving.

This somewhat extended reference to the drawings of Vilars de Honecort will suffice to demonstrate the mood in which worked the artists of the heyday of Gothic art. At the same time it will never do to forget that, in spite of this refreshing interest in life, the artist of that time, if we may take this same Vilars as a type, found it hard to eliminate entirely from his method of work certain conventions which seem to descend in part from a groping past and in part from a designer's feeling that, even when he is working from nature, pattern is quite as important as naturalism. Perhaps in the minds of these men lurked the impression that even nature in designing her own creations worked in accordance with set formulae. At all events, in the early part of his book, Vilars reminds us that his way of drawing shows the power of the art of

¹³ Willis, *Sketchbook*, p. 173, pl. XLVII.

delineation, "the outlines being regulated and taught in accordance with geometry." Later on, when, on the recto of the eighteenth leaf, he says, "Here begin the elements of portraiture," he forthwith shows how the human head can be drawn within the outline of a six-pointed star. In many other places, too, he betrays the same interest in arranging human and animal forms in accordance with regular geometric patterns. In a measure, of course, he may have been led to do this because of a desire to obtain thereby a pattern for some ornamental purpose. But when we remember that much later Dürer, in his search for an ideal proportion for the human form, had recourse to geometry, it is fair to suppose that Vilars and his compeers, when employing the geometric pattern in designing living forms, thought that they were truly approaching nature in a correct fashion. To be brief, Vilars sums up in his person the mood of his day. He is alert to his environment, studies it with observing eyes, and thinks how to reproduce it.

In another way as well he illustrates how Gothic art may have come to show this or that fashion of representation, for he traveled abroad, as he himself says, and from his travels picked up certain facts which must have affected him thereafter. This foreign adventure we have no reason to suppose was unique. Other artists must have crossed the boundaries of France, and, once abroad, have acquired certain impressions which later modified their original manner of work.

Interesting as Vilars's book is, with its plans of cathedrals, its designs for statues and its naïve drawing for a perpetual-motion machine, it is much more valuable for its testimony as to the interest of the Gothic mind in nature. It is this direct communion with her that establishes a liaison between Greek and Gothic art. Both needed no other inspiration than that of their imminent environment. Conventions, to be sure, both employed, but only because thereby it seemed easier to arrive at the ideal desired. Both borrowed the tools, as it were, from

other arts and other lands when the employment of them facilitated expression. But this once admitted, it should be observed that Gothic as well as Greek artist found no need of going abroad for material in which to express his ideas. To cite a trivial illustration, it is the indigenous oak and the ivy which furnish models for decorations on Gothic cathedrals.

Herein lies the greatness of the two arts—an ability to think independently, a power to use what is at hand. By the same token herein lies the impotence of much modern art, which often knows no better than merely to pick and steal from the achievements of artists of the dead past.

The mediæval French artist, on the contrary, at all times has been sensitive to his environment. Even as early as Moissac, Vézelay and Toulouse he tried, although he naturally fell short of complete success, to reproduce in his statues the feeling of life as he saw it expressed in everything around him. His mood, however, is not normally austere, in this respect differing from that of the Greek of the great period, but rather is inclined towards lyricism. It shows itself, therefore, whenever possible, in what one might describe as lighter *motifs*. Sometimes it approximates nervousness in movement; sometimes, as at Senlis, a delicate poesy.

This spiritual sensitiveness is, beyond doubt, a result of the naturalism of the Gothic mind. It timidly voices itself, as just noted, at Senlis. It appears with more assurance, yet with infinite delicacy, in the remarkably lovely Resurrection of the Virgin, over the left door of the western front of Notre Dame, Paris.¹⁴ This work comes early in the thirteenth century and therefore takes us a little farther along than the relief at Senlis. Somewhat less there is of the lyrical quality in the later work, and in its place something more of serenity. How much this quality may have been due to contact with Italian or classic models it is hard to say. But such familiarity is not unknown at this time, for, as we are aware, Vilars

¹⁴ Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, II, pt. I, p. 145, fig. 100.

drew from classic types. At all events, whether the artist studied classic models or whether a certain quiet dignity was native to his genius, it must be granted that he has been able to cause to emanate from this work a feeling of quietude incomparably more impressive than the manifestly classic austerity of Niccolo Pisano's carvings of nearly a half century later. Whereas, in the presence of the latter, one is disconcerted by the lack of that something which would make the figures truly living, into this glorified work nothing enters to disturb the feeling of gentle, spiritual reality. Compared with any figures by Niccolo Pisano, the frieze of prophets and kings at the base of this tympanum shows an ease of movement and a noble reserve which make the Italian's figures seem to be forms and not beings. This success on the Gothic sculptor's part arises from a frank communion with nature. It is this same interest in his surroundings which led the artist, in the middle register of this relief, to introduce two trees which serve as agents to indicate the locality. These trees, be it noted, are not foolish, conventional forms taken from some classic model, but the native growths of France. This same naturalistic feeling, breathing forth in the piety with which the angels tenderly raise Mary from her tomb, broods over the meditative figures of the near-by apostles.

All this in praise. It is only honest, however, to say that, successful as this sculptor has been, he yet falls just short of absolute freedom from tradition. This failure is most apparent perhaps in the somewhat archaic fashion in which he arranges the drapery about the knees and feet of his figures. Here still appear the conventionally disposed folds and artificially rippling edges hallowed by time. But this archaism is after all a minor defect when one considers the reality, serenity and grace of the work as a whole.

Much the same indescribable admixture of conventionality and naturalism reappears in the figures of the Annunciation, Visitation and Presentation, of the west

front of Amiens Cathedral. They date not much after 1225.¹⁵ Perhaps owing to their position against the shafts at the side of the door, these figures are a little more rigid than they would have been had they appeared in some relief such as the last mentioned. Yet in spite of this slight formality, the six *personnages*, in their insignificant variations of gesture, expression and drapery, are excellent illustrations of the observation of nature on the part of the sculptor. Even the Mary of the Annunciation and the Elizabeth of the Visitation, although they gesture in much the same fashion, vary their movements enough to avoid repetition. So, too, in the matter of drapery, while that of Mary in the Annunciation and in the Visitation shows much the same arrangement in the upper part of the figure, it flows in entirely different folds about the feet. Most subtle, however, and most indicative, therefore, of a consideration of nature, is the modification of facial expression apparent as we pass from one figure to another. In the Mary of the Presentation, it approaches a serenity which is quite classic in its aloofness; in the face of the priest Simeon, it becomes winningly intimate.

The somewhat staid, or archaic, traces which we have just noticed in the statues of Amiens disappear entirely from the two figures of the Visitation on the central door of the west front of Rheims.¹⁶ Here not only do the heads of Mary and Elizabeth remind one of Italian work executed under classic influence, as, for example, the later work of Niccolo or Giovanni Pisano, but the drapery is most involved in its arrangement as if the artist had done his best to follow the disposition of the garments of his models. How this classic quality came to appear in these figures we cannot positively say, but there were classic remains in the neighborhood of Rheims which may have afforded the sculptor the instruction he needed. This classic influence, however, was of value to the artist only in so far as it led him more directly to nature. Indeed, the

¹⁵ Pillion, *Sculpt. franç.*, p. 149.

¹⁶ Michel, *Hist. de l'art*, II, pt. I, p. 151, fig. 106.

calm and meditative character displayed by Mary and Elizabeth, or in fact by any French statue at this time, is not truly the native expression of Gothic art. This is always more self-conscious, with a tendency towards a liveliness which, a little later than the time we are now considering, becomes coy or coquettish. At this moment, however, one observes in many works a fine dignity touched with naturalism. Such, for example, is it in the splendid figure of Saint Theodore from the south porch of Chartres Cathedral.¹⁷ Not only is the expression of the face so distinctly individual as to suggest that it is actually a portrait of some young knight of the time, but the costume is such as was worn by the crusaders of the day of Saint Louis. Altogether this exceptionally beautiful figure, which in its exemplification of youthful, knightly manhood recalls Donatello's virile Saint George, tells us as well as any work that could be cited how intent the Gothic sculptor was upon following nature.

His models, moreover, when he was making statues of important ecclesiastic figures, were, as here, taken if not from the nobility, at least from courtly circles. This habit, of course, is not confined to the sculptor, for the illuminators of books naturally found it to the taste of their employers to discover themselves or their kind reproduced in the pictures. In a word, it was a national way of work with the Gothic artist, whether painter or sculptor, and to a high degree it explains the distinct fondness for representing the feminine types in sculpture as more or less fragile, with manners dainty almost to the extent of being affected. It requires no unusual effort, therefore, to believe that in such a smiling figure as the Mary of the Golden Door of Amiens Cathedral,¹⁸ we have actually quite as close a study of the feminine type of high society as we had a representation of knightly gentleness in the Saint Theodore just mentioned. The glow of the peasant woman's cheek was no more permitted in polite circles

¹⁷ Marriage, *Sculpt. of Chartres Cath.*, pls. 94-113.

¹⁸ Pillion, *Sculpt. franç.*, p. 167, pl. XVII.

than it was in our much abused mid-Victorian period. Instead, the noble lady who figured in the courts of love, who was attended by the gallant knight, was one whose cheek was pale and whose hands were unaccustomed to anything more arduous than the use of the embroidery needle. We may easily imagine that her gestures and poses were appropriate to her facial type and her form. This, then, is the type selected by the artist. Thus eventually the sinuous movement of lightly moving figures came into sculpture to appear as a pose so markedly rhythmic at times as, in the figure of the Synagogue on the south front of Rheims, to be decidedly forced.

Yet what we find here is merely a logical result of a tendency which was in evidence almost at the start of Gothic art. The self-consciousness which displayed itself at times as nervous vivacity, or coyness, implies a certain artificiality of living, and this characteristic was a concomitant of the courtly existence of the day. As this life developed more and more in its refinement, it was bound to evolve artificial mannerisms which naturally found reflection in contemporary art. In fact, the very accentuation of affectation, or self-consciousness, is one of the best proofs we have that sculpture was faithfully marching step to step with the life of the day.

In following the evolution of naturalism in Gothic art, we have almost entirely confined ourselves to what may be called monumental art. At times, references have been made to illumination and ivory carving, and while unquestionably these minor arts upon certain occasions may have helped to fashion the greater art of sculpture—which is particularly true of illumination—ivory carving during the Gothic period was in the main more imitative of sculpture in stone than imitated by the latter. Monumental sculpture, by and large, worked out its own career more or less independently by means of a study of contemporary life.

All this says nothing of the minor sculptures which appear upon the cathedrals—the queer animals and fabu-

lous creatures which, in the mystic thought of the Middle Ages, represent the virtues, or besetting vices, of men. Yet even in these one sees a curiously artificial naturalism, if one may so describe it. That is to say, in the portrayal of such grotesques, for example, as peer from the nooks and corners of Notre Dame, Paris, the sculptor created types which are so convincing in appearance that, had it been possible for these malformations to exist, they must have appeared as the Gothic artist shows them to us. Furthermore, even in the little gnomelike forms that here and there lurk in the shadows of the cathedrals, one observes as time progresses that the native humor of the artist, at times of an extremely broad character, expresses itself as a reflection of the phase of mind of the time.

Briefly put, Gothic sculpture from first to last shows an all-absorbing interest in nature. In this matter it differs widely from its ancient rival, the sculpture of Greece, which always in its best days seems to have been straining towards an ideal rather than a literal reality. On that account, it was pleased to employ types for expressing itself, thereby revealing, in its forms, beings which did not exist but would have been seen had the gods allowed perfection on earth. The Gothic artist, on the other hand, affiliates himself spiritually more closely with the Italian sculptors of the Renaissance in striving towards a frank interpretation of life. But between the two arts, this difference should be noted—Gothic sculpture appears, moves forward to perfection, and disappears in a brief space of three short centuries, whereas that of Italy passes through a slow growth from infancy to senescence which, at a conservative estimate, covers at least five centuries, and at last passes out in a banal exaggeration of style.

Nothing of this sort occurs in France. Like a hothouse plant, strongly urged, sculpture quickly matures and, to all intents and purposes, disappears in the bloom of its full perfection. Certain signs of decadence appear pos-

sibly in its obvious searching for affected grace. But, fortunately perhaps for the dignity of French Gothic sculpture, the classic art of the Italian Renaissance began to push forward to the exclusion of all others and eventually in sculpture as well as in architecture came to occupy the place formerly held by the indigenous art of France.

FORETOKENS OF THE TONAL
PRINCIPLE



BY GEORGE SHERMAN DICKINSON

FORETOKENS OF THE TONAL PRINCIPLE

IN music, as in any other connection, form is a name merely for the fact of intelligible relationships. The obviousness of these relationships depends in considerable measure upon orientation of the related factors through reference to a fixed point. Thus relationships of tones, chords or keys to one another are accentuated when the latter are referred significantly to a constant tone, chord or key of centrality. The tonal principle in music, in broadest application, is the embodiment of relationship so emphasized. Although these relationships stand indebted to the acoustical relations of the tones employed, they are nevertheless for the most part and in their essential function ideal, not physical, relationships,—relationships of musical logic, and, as such, ultimate facts in musical thinking. Tonality is then a principle of form, and its application one of the processes of logical musical thought.

The simple idea of a point of reference is a primitive one. The fully completed tonal phenomenon on the other hand—whereby chords are so manipulated that their progressions take on a centripetal or centrifugal aspect in relation to a tonic chord, an integration with the tonic as focus seeming to take place, so that keys are delineated and become associable in “circling” design—this is the property of modern music, and had to wait for, indeed was only fully called forth by, the structural needs of the homophonic style in the seventeenth century. It is the field between these extremes in which foretokens are sought, in particular the sixteenth century, throughout the

course of which the imminence of tonal practice becomes increasingly evident.

MONOMELODY

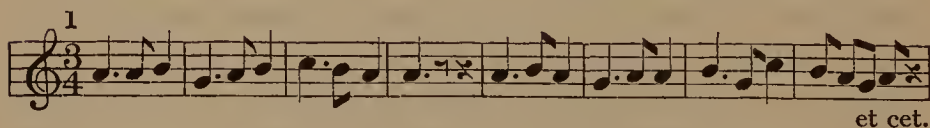
THROUGH THE EPOCH OF THE TROUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES

SO DEEP-SEATED is the instinct of order for taking bearings by a fixed point that its influence is detectable in some guise or other from almost as remote times as the earliest extant music itself. But the mere fact of a point of reference does not necessarily imply its investiture with active magnetism. Thus, though the "doctrine of the final" in plain chant directed a conclusion with the final or defining tone of the mode formulated in the melody, the final in no sense exercised the function of a positive goal: in it inhered no principle of internal order active enough to relate strongly the elements of the melody and cause vigorous gravitation toward the final. It was but a passive point of reckoning, recognizable as such only through its office as the ultimate tone, serving as one of the clues to the mode, and in that sense governing the general cast of the melody, but not its progression. The same facts apply equally to a considerable proportion of Troubadour and early folk melody in the same modes, with the exception that a greater degree of rhythmic definition prevails.

Lautrier avint

AEOLIAN

Troubadour melody¹



But take melody in which the final is given the prominence of calculated frequent appearance (Ex. 1), take melody in the Ionian (major) mode (Ex. 2), grant it

¹ J.-B. Beck, *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, Strassburg, 1908, p. 146, no. 153.

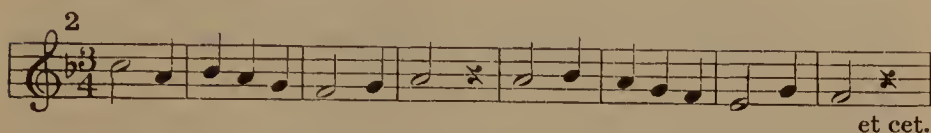
rhythmic definition not possessed by plain chant: the melody appears to defer to, to take shape from the final, or even to gravitate with a degree at least of pressure toward it.

Ensi va qui amours

Rondeau

IONIAN (TRANPOSED)

Troubadour melody²



In Ex. 1 the final is thrown into a certain relief through both its strategic location and its frequent recurrence: it is the initial and concluding tone of both phrases, and its appearance at the ends of the phrases is emphasized by anticipation of it on the penultimate beat of each phrase; in the first phrase, of ten tones five are the final, in the second phrase, of thirteen tones six are the final. According to Helmholtz' theory of relation, the tones of this melody bear no such particularly strong kinship to one another as, for example, do the tones of a major melody. But the final in this case is none the less a tonic for being a somewhat passive one. As Miss Glyn would probably say of it, there is no inherent magnetism in the tonic itself, but the compelling force is the desire of the mind to return to it. In Ex. 2 the final is given no such conspicuous rôle: its chief appearance in an emphasized location is at the close. Yet the effect of progress toward that point and the satisfaction in finally settling upon it are greater than in the first instance. Evidently the presence of the major mode is a factor in the apparently more positive tonality of the latter case.

Helmholtz³ has expounded a physical and Max Meyer⁴

² P. Aubrey, *Trouvères et troubadours*, Paris, ed. 2, 1910, p. 64.

³ H. L. F. Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, tr. by Ellis, London, ed. 2, 1885, ch. XIV.

⁴ M. Meyer, "Contributions to a Psychological Theory of Music," *University of Missouri Studies*, I, no. 1, Columbia, Mo., 1901.

a psychological basis for melodic tonality, in which the major is regarded as undoubtedly the tonal mode *par excellence*. But an essential part of any full explanation of the definite tonal effect of such a melody as Ex. 2 is without question to be found in the strong probability of imposition upon it by the listener of *harmonic* tonality. Tiersot's⁵ injunction is very difficult to observe: "Aussi est-il nécessaire de s'abstraire le plus possible des habitudes données par l'éducation harmonique moderne pour se rendre très exactement compte des principes en vigueur aux époques antérieures." The tonal idea as manifested through the agency of harmony has so fundamentally seated itself in modern musical consciousness that it is difficult in examining a melody unsupported by harmony to resist supplying a tonal harmonic background for it. In the case of the major mode inhibition is practically impossible. Certainly a great part of the clear tonal effect of Ex. 2 is read into it rather than inferred from it.

The tonal aptitude of the major mode lends itself readily to the temptation to trace tonality as far back as the mode itself can be traced. Though not theoretically recognized until the sixteenth century, the major is an ancient and favorite mode. Tiersot⁶ says of it: "Long-temps avant que la première formule harmonique de cadence parfaite ait été écrite, . . . le mode majeur était d'un emploi constant dans les mélodies populaires aussi bien que dans celles des chansons des trouvères, qui en sont la première expression artistique."

It would be difficult to demonstrate to what this early favoritism for the major should be attributed, and what particular advantages the major possessed over other modes in a purely melodic system. It may be correct to assign its frequent use to an instinct for the closeness of the relations of its tones to the final, and hence to a sensing of its special potentiality for clarity and order, that

⁵ J. Tiersot, *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France*, Paris, 1889, p. 29.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 298.

is, of its latent tonal advantages. But although of frequent occurrence, its superiority in this regard did not by any means cause it to displace the other modes. If partiality to the major for melodic purposes were due to its tonal qualities, it is notable that no pursuance commensurate with the prevalence of the mode in popular melodies is evident in the earliest extant harmonizations of such tunes,—particularly notable in view of the fact that it is in harmonic relations that the orderly possibilities of the mode most readily manifest themselves and become peculiarly valuable. At any rate, the tonal influence of the major mode had done nothing tangible for harmony by the fifteenth century. Possibly its frequent appearance in melodic music was due to the same cause as its later considerable use in harmonic music, namely, to its modal Ethos, to the particular flavor which it imparts in either melodic or harmonic music to ideas conceived in its mold—though it is a question as to whether this flavor is not due after all to the physically close relations of its tones.

The single dimension of melody actually does not provide the multiplicity of tone relationships necessary for so complex a structural process as the generation of tonal power of gravitation. Melodic allegiance to a tonic, to whatever it may be due, is relatively unassertive. A second dimension, harmony untrammelled by polyphonic limitations, is necessary to make secure the tonic keystone of the edifice. Parry implies this when he speaks of harmony as accomplishing the completion of the organization of the scale. But relations presentable through the two dimensions of melody and harmony are, broadly speaking, structurally without motive force, except when operating in and adjusted to a third dimension, that of metered rhythm. Tonality then at its fullest value—as a dynamic structural principle—requires the range of relationships furnished only in the composite medium of melody, harmony and metered rhythm.

Before beginning to trace the symptoms leading up to the definite practice of harmonic tonality in the seventeenth century, and without any desire to dwell upon physical and psychological reasons for the tonal relations, it will be valuable to suggest a further test basis for following out the development of the tonal idea.

A tonal mode is harmonically defined by three primary chords. The tonic chord is the center of gravity, the ultimate focus of all chord movement in the mode, present in the consciousness with greater or less insistence as the magnetic pole of all the other chords. The tonic chord is not a dynamic center by virtue of any inherent magnetism, but only through the projection of the dominant chord toward it. The dominant-tonic relation is the basic tonal relation. The positive energy of this relation apparently rests on two factors: first, the "majorness" of the dominant, which alone furnishes, in its passage to the tonic chord, a melodic emphasis of the tonic tone, through the agency of a tone a half-step under the tonic. This tone of the dominant chord moves to the tonic tone by the phenomenon of "attraction," as Aubry calls it, explained by Helmholtz⁷ and Gurney⁸ as due to "nearness," by which is certainly meant relative nearness as compared with the whole-step. The other factor has to do with the rhythmic relation of the chords. The mere interchange of two chords in the dominant-tonic relation is ambiguous: either chord would be the tonic only by assumption. But give the stress to the latter of two chords so related and it becomes the active focus of a progression. (Ex. 3.)

The subdominant-tonic relation is the complement of the dominant-tonic relation. Though dependent on the same rhythmic status, it is considerably less active, because, according to Helmholtz,⁹ "The tones of the subdominant triad are all directly related to the tonic, so that we are already close upon the tonic before we pass over to

⁷ Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, pp. 285-288.

⁸ E. Gurney, *The Power of Sound*, London, 1880, p. 146.

⁹ Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, p. 293.

it, . . . and the progression is much less distinctive than before'' [*i.e.*, than the dominant-tonic progression]. (Ex. 4.)



The doctrine of primary chords is fundamental to tonality. No two chords of any modes but the major and modern minor enjoy precisely the relations which the dominant and subdominant of these modes hold to their tonic. Historically speaking, the major mode is unique in providing these relations naturally, that is, without the mode having undergone a process of modification for tonal purposes.

The primacy of these chords implies that in delineating the mode a general predominance of them in number, and their location in significant places rhythmically and architecturally, are essential. They will therefore be found more or less to monopolize the accents in the simplest, most straightforward tonal music, and they will be used as points of arrival in the planning of structure, though the tonal sophistication of composers and listeners ultimately results in a more subtle and less literal employment of their primacy. The remaining chords, in order not to weaken the tonal positiveness of the primary group, must appear in such connection as to give variety of effect and progression but withal to throw the primary chords into relief. This is a matter both of rhythmo-chordal relations and of actual progressions chosen. Since the dominant-tonic and the subdominant-tonic rela-

tionships are the basis of tonal effect, progressions on the analogy of these will be not infrequent in passages involving secondary material.

Further search for foretokens of tonality then resolves itself into search for a growing prevalence of the tonal modes, the major the more significant, with these increasingly treated in such a harmonic manner that tonic gravitation, hence key definition, and finally key architecture are made possible.

ABSOLUTE POLYPHONY

THROUGH THE EPOCH OF OKEGHEM, *tc.* 1496

WHATEVER tonal suggestiveness one may be inclined to ascribe to certain monomelodic music and whatever the prevalence of the major mode in popular music may appear to promise, in the field of learned music the advent of polyphony and six centuries of its comparatively laborious development mark ground wholly uncongenial to the growth of the tonal idea. Absolute polyphony is *per naturam* incompatible with the harmonic regulation involved in tonality. Tonal polyphony implies a sacrifice of melodic freedom to harmonic concerns, so that, for example, in the vocal style of Bach, in which the counter-interests of harmonic progression and the melodic integrity of the parts are reconciled as nearly as possible, there is neither the part independence which is exhibited in non-tonal polyphony nor the melodic equality of voices. Nor in absolute polyphony is the problem of form such that the resources of the tonal structural scheme could be of especial value. Thus Schönberg, in the nature of the case, must dispense with tonal plan in certain of his works partly at least as a consequence of the complete part freedom of his polyphonic idiom, and does so, if with impunity at all, on just that basis.

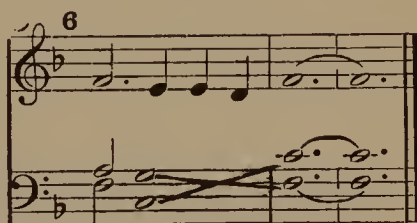
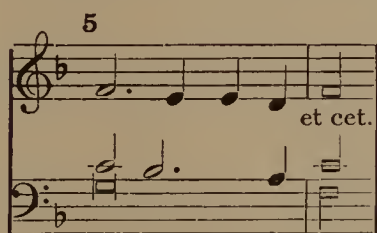
Two further and obvious anti-tonal factors inherent in the character of the polyphonic practice of the mediæval

period are the absence of the rhythmic positiveness essential to tonality, and the fact that the recognized modes current in the learned polyphony were non-tonal modes,—though a beginning was made in the partial elimination of the latter obstacle through certain modifications which these modes suffered.

In the absolute polyphony of the Middle Ages there is to be discovered, however, one important symptom fore-running the principle of tonal centralization. Even pure polyphony (granted the unchallenged dominance of consonance) must cadence. The authentic cadence is the earliest of the symptoms of tonality. (Ex. 3 and Ex. 9.) Its identity and tonal bearing rest on the presence of a penultimate major chord in the dominant relation to the final chord.

The authentic cadence with all its tonal conviction was not a spontaneous creation of tonal instinct; it was a gradual evolution from a proceeding without much of any cadential significance of a tonal sort. Comparison of a cadence of Dunstable (Ex. 5) with one of Okeghem (Ex. 7) discloses the advance made in the intervening period. A mid-stage is shown in a characteristic cadence of Dufay (Ex. 6).

IONIAN	DUNSTABLE ¹⁰	IONIAN	DUFAY ¹¹
(TRANPOSED)	†1453	(TRANPOSED)	†1474

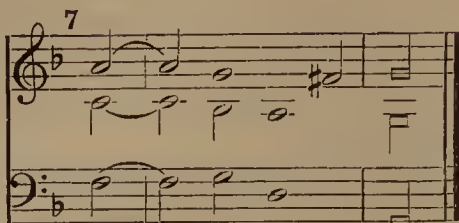


¹⁰ H. E. Wooldridge, *The Oxford History of Music*, ed. W. H. Hadow, Oxford, 1905, II, p. 159.

¹¹ J. F. R. and C. Stainer, *Dufay and his Contemporaries*, London, 1898, p. 147.

DORIAN
(TRANSPOSED)

OKEGHEM¹²
†c. 1496



Parry¹³ describes the status of the mediæval authentic cadence as follows:

The ecclesiastical cadences were nominally defined by the progressions of the individual voices, and the fact of their collectively giving the ordinary Dominant Cadence in a large proportion of instances was not the result of principle, but in point of fact an accident. The modern Dominant Harmonic Cadence is the passage of the mass of the harmony of the Dominant into the mass of the Tonic, and defines the key absolutely by giving successively the harmonies which represent the compound tone of the two most important roots in the scale, the most important of all coming last.

While the genesis of the cadence is undoubtedly explained in that an approximation of the dominant-tonic effect is inevitable in the mere fact of several parts attempting to come to a mainly step-wise consonant conclusion, it is nevertheless difficult to believe that a constant use of this one process of arrival should not in time, and before genuine harmonic consciousness is awakened, result in the recognition of the two final combinations with their particular relation as an entity, as a formula, carried out to be sure by the mutual adjustment of several nominally independent voices, but nevertheless to be secured only by planning their movement in a somewhat restricted fashion, that is, in reality a harmonic fashion. It is not unreasonable to regard this procedure as having been early felt to be a process of inducing the effect of

¹² A. W. Ambros, *Geschichte der Musik*, Leipzig, 1889, V (Kade), p. 15.

¹³ C. H. H. Parry, "Harmony," *Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Grove, New York, ed. 2, 1904-1910, p. 310.

finality through *progression*; and a sensing therefore of these two points as *related moments* is conceivable in the persistent act of cadencing, wholly without assuming a realization of the vertical significance of the combinations as chords. At cadences where parts are being shaped toward a stoppage point, the aspect of the material instrumental in reaching that point is bound to be brought forward. The cadence as an entity precedes the recognition of its chordal components.

That the conventionalized union of these two chords was ultimately in pure polyphony associated with a true feeling for the harmonic progression involved is suggested by the fact that, though in only one of the four authentic church modes is this cadence naturally possible—and that a mode not used in purity—yet in the other two which permit, it was regularly secured through the subterfuge, modally speaking, of *musica ficta*. (In Ex. 7 f# is foreign to the mode.) Originally conceived for melodic reasons, the notable harmonic use of this device in cadence is tacit acknowledgment of a latent feeling for the “mass of the harmony of the Dominant” passing into the “mass of the Tonic.” Recognition of the necessity of “majoring” the penultimate chord in cadence is an important step and marks the faint beginning of the disintegration of the non-tonal modes. This necessity in cadence is a harmonic and a tonal, not a melodic necessity.

A suggestive fact for tonality in the acceptance of the authentic cadence is that, psychologically speaking, cadencing in music is intrinsically an anacrusic process. The very conception of arrival at a consonant point contains the idea of relative emphasis on the moment of arrival. (Ex. 3.) The rhythmic relation essential to the tonal force of the penultimate and final chords is thus actually inherent in the process of associating them cadentially: the penultimate chord is bound over to the final chord.

The influence of the authentic cadence is more wide-reaching as viewed in the perspective of later tonal de-

velopment than its place in the system which devised it can possibly indicate. The tonal significance of the cadence through the gradual permeation of its chord logic into the entire phrase is expressed authoritatively by Riemann:¹⁴

Als Äusserungen der allmählich keimenden Erkenntnis der harmonischen Natur alles musikalischen Formenwesens erschienen uns zuerst die Begriffe der *Finales* und *Sociales* der Kirchentöne, welche auch die Hauptpunkte für die Abschlüsse im Einklang für die junge Mehrstimmigkeit bilden, in denen sozusagen der harmonische Instinkt zum ersten Male greifbar ins Bewusstsein tritt, während für lange Zeit noch die mittleren Strecken der durch Klauseln abgegliederten Abschnitte völlig der Willkür überlassen scheinen. . . . Die Lehre von der Kadenzbildung greift immer mehr von den Abschlüssen der Teile auch auf die Folgeordnung der Harmonien innerhalb derselben über und schliesslich entwickelt sich eine vollständige *Lehre von der immanenten Logik der Harmoniefolgen*, eine Lehre von der *natürlichen Gesetzmässigkeit der Harmoniebewegung*.

THE POLYPHONY OF HARMONIC PROPRIETY

APPROXIMATELY THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A STEP in the direction of harmonic clarity is taken, when, “. . . as a part of that astonishing awakening of the musical understanding which came during the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the sense of harmonic propriety is seen as already almost completely established. . . .”¹⁵ The implied discrimination in chord handling which Wooldridge terms “harmonic propriety” is a manifestation of a general trend, well under way in the early sixteenth century, toward a rationale of chord succession without as well as within the cadence.

But harmonic propriety, as a fairly typical instance shows (Ex. 8), is seen to signify only a sort of embryonic chord consistency, in which the concluding chord is

¹⁴ H. Riemann, *Geschichte der Musiktheorie im IX.-XIX. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig, 1898, pp. 452-453.

¹⁵ Wooldridge, *Ox. Hist. of Mus.*, II, p. 228.

drifted toward instead of driven toward. Chord consciousness is barely awakened; logic of progression cannot become a particular end without an appreciable modification in the conception of polyphony itself. Each chord, as the by-product of the polyphony, is as important as another. The tonic and the progressions, if so they may be termed, are passive. In Parry's apt phrase, there was "deeply ingrained" the habit "of taking the chords where they lay." That they are often taken in such fashion as to juxtapose predominantly related chords is the gain toward harmonic order marked by the rise of a sense of harmonic propriety.

Sanctus

Missa : De Feria

AEOLIAN

PALESTRINA¹⁶

†1594

8

conclusion

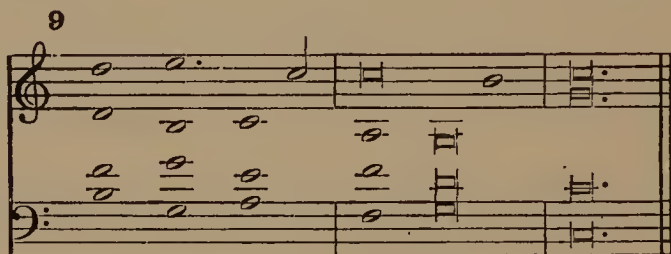
¹⁶ Pierluigi da Palestrina, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1881, XII, p. 69.

By the time of Josquin the completed authentic cadence, comprising the subdominant-dominant-tonic succession, is definitely established and considerably used; the subdominant has found a regular place beside the dominant in firmly seating the final tonic chord. (Ex. 9.) Occasionally it would even appear that the movement of the voices has been so managed that the chord or two preceding this cadence formula might be regarded as having been drawn into the chord logic of the passage. But for the most part chord successions except in the cadence itself are aimless, though smooth and agreeable.

Ave vera virginitas

IONIAN

JOSQUIN DES PRÈS¹⁷
†1521



In the course of the sixteenth century there appears a tendency for the lowest voice even in obviously pure polyphony to move, not entirely as a free melody would move, but as a chord bass moves in its obligation to the chord successions formed. This is particularly evident in works of many parts. A slight preference for progressions on the analogy of V-I and IV-I is also noticeable, suggesting a beginning of the permeating influence of cadence logic in the body of polyphonic material. Such melodic concessions to chordality are prerequisite to a complete logic of progression, and testify to an increasing sensitivity to the chord as a factor in polyphony.

¹⁷ A. Dörffel, *Musica Sacra*, Peters 2445, p. 37.

The year 1547 marks the recognition of the major mode in theory by Glareanus.¹⁸ Though not one of the original church modes, its presence in learned polyphony disguised as the Lydian mode with bb, together with its frequency in popular music, maintained its influence. By the middle of the sixteenth century it was an acknowledged favorite, as the following observation by Zarlino¹⁹ indicates: "Dell. undecimo Modo.—Questo modo dai Moderni è tanto in uso e tanto amato, che molte cantilene composte nel Quinto Modo per l'aggiuntione della chorda b in luogo della ♯ hanno mutato in Undecimo." The leaning toward the major mode was strong enough also to cause the b sometimes to be placed at the beginning of the line of the staff representing the seventh degree of the Mixolydian mode, as warning that *musica ficta* must not be applied to this tone except in cadence; this was done perhaps as far back as the time of Josquin.

The prevalence of the major mode is a fact closely connected with tonal progress, but just as its presence in monomelody is in itself an indication of no more than feeble melodic tonality, likewise in harmonic music its appearance is not assurance of specifically tonal treatment of the harmonic successions. The major mode is the line of least tonal resistance, the line of release, in fact, for the growing instinct for order in chord movement: the presence of the major mode predisposes the situation in favor of tonality. But advantage must be taken of it, conscious and active manipulation of its chords, before unmistakable tonal practice is assured. So it is not unnatural that the major mode in the complex sixteenth-century polyphony is in the main treated with the same general vagueness of chord movement as obtains in the case of the other modes (*cf.* Ex. 10 with Ex. 8), though it is easier at times to read into it tonal implications.

¹⁸ Glareanus, *Dodecachordon*.

¹⁹ Zarlino, *Istitutioni armoniche*, IV, 28, 1558, quoted in Ambros, *Gesch. d. Mus.*, V, p. 62.

Kyrie

Missa: Quam pulchra es

IONIAN

PALESTRINA²⁰

†1594

10

conclusion

An important aspect of mediæval polyphony is revealed in the presence of a broader scheme of construction than that of imitation only. As polyphonic music has assumed increased stature the practice of modal modulation appears in the use of closings at points harmonically contrasted with the final ending. Parry²¹ refuses to identify

²⁰ Palestrina, *Werke*, Leipzig, 1883, XV, p. 60.

²¹ Parry, "Harmony," *Dictionary* . . . , ed. Grove, p. 311.

this practice with modulation. Riemann²² takes a different position:

. . . es ist aber auch noch gar nicht so ausgemacht, dass z.B. die Übergang aus dem Dorischen in das Mixolydische oder Phrygische nicht ein wirklicher Wechsel der Tonart, eine Modulation, war; die Teilschlüsse auf andere Tönen als der Finalis bedeuten sicher wenn nicht immer, so doch oft einen Wechsel der Tonalität.

At any rate in the various "Teilschlüsse" there is to be found the prototype of key modulation. In fact, the cadence as mere punctuation has merged into the cadence as a point in construction, a suggestive situation in view of the later somewhat analogous use of cadence in tonal architecture.

It would be wrong to accept these symptoms as evidence that sixteenth-century polyphony was ever conscious of them as tonal premonitions. However, they are indications, in the period, of a general inclination which, though more pronounced in forms of contemporaneous music favorably constituted to propagate the tonal idea, was significant and powerful enough to penetrate a style in essence wholly unsuited to react to the tonal impulse, a style which nevertheless underwent a perceptible change in emphasis in response to the pervasiveness of this idea.

RELAXED POLYPHONY

APPROXIMATELY THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

ABSOLUTE polyphony, largely through an awakening to the call of expression, was modified in concession to harmonic propriety. Contemporaneous with and often blended with the resultant style arose a more fundamental modification of the polyphonic idea in the *stile familiare*. (Ex. 11.) Here there is distinct curtailment of free melodic flight; and a complementary effect is seen in a slight

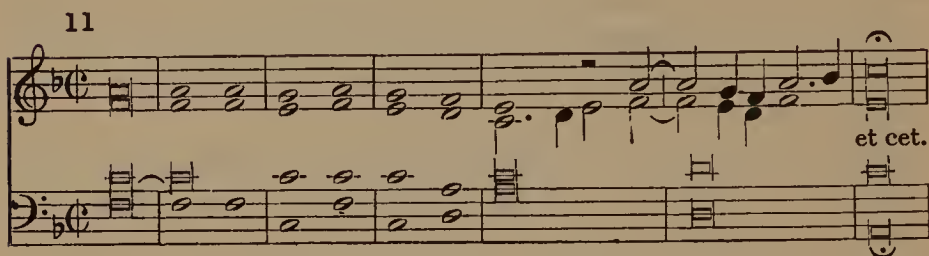
²² Riemann, *Gesch. d. Musiktheorie*, pp. 451-452.

enhancement of the chord logic, the latter, however, in no wise commensurate with the former,—intimation that even the familiar style with its obvious representation of chords was viewed from the polyphonic standpoint.

Motet

IONIAN
(TRANSPosed)

PIERRE DE LA RUE²³
†1518



The familiar style existed in the fifteenth century in simple harmonizations of *Lieder* before its definite incorporation in the style of the sixteenth-century masters. Its chord reiterations and simple voice leadings direct attention to relations of chords where polyphonic motion could not. In addition, the movement of the bass, more than is suitable in pure polyphony, lends itself to emphasis on chord progression, particularly since root positions are the stock-in-trade of the familiar style. But its tonal importance is perhaps commonly overestimated, for even when the major mode is used and only primary chords appear, the absence of definite rhythm, often as characteristic of the familiar style as of pure polyphony, is largely responsible for the irresoluteness of the chord progressions. Even if there is rhythmic plan, as in Ex. 12, vague harmonic progressions still often intrude, always excepting cadences.

²³ Wooldridge, *Ox. Hist. of Mus.*, II, p. 241.

*Ce mois de May*IONIAN
(TRANPOSED)JANNEQUIN²⁴

ATTAIGNANT

Trente et une Chansons musicales

Paris 1529

12

et cet.

final cadence

An important fact for tonality in connection with the familiar style is the probability of somewhat frequent cadences, more frequent and definite and separative than in pure melodic polyphony, resulting in the bringing to the fore, through repeated use and in a small space of time, of a concentrated amount of cadence chord logic.

Certain varieties of sixteenth-century secular works present an order of polyphony midway between the pure melodic polyphony and the familiar style. (Ex. 13.) The voices move rather freely in respect to pitch gradations, but with somewhat less rhythmic independence than in more severe polyphony. The result holds a suggestion of chordality. If such material, as is often the case, is of pronounced rhythmic plan, some of it even distinctly periodic, the tonal effect may approximate that of har-

²⁴ H. Expert, *Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance française*, Paris, 1897, 31 Chansons, No. XXI, pp. 72 and 75.

monic music. But various peculiarities of progression traceable to the melodic needs of the parts expose its relative indifference to chord successions on their own account. Material of the sort in the major mode approaches as near to tonal practice as art vocal music in the sixteenth century succeeds in doing.

Chanson

IONIAN
(TRANSPosed)

ARCADELT²⁵
†c. 1560

13

et cet.

A distinctive development of the sixteenth century is manifested in the appearance of daring chromatic experiments, which served to weaken the constricting influence of the old modal system. One may find, for example, as Combarieu²⁶ says:

... une fantaisie *chromatique* présentée comme étant en *dorien*! Cette survivance des anciennes étiquettes est d'ailleurs fort naturelle. Aujourd'hui, un musicien peut écrire une pièce en ré[♯] majeur, et, au cours de l'ouvrage, employer un grand nombre

²⁵ H. Riemann, *Musikgeschichte in Beispielen*, Leipzig, 1911-1912, p. 67.

²⁶ J. Combarieu, *Histoire de la musique*, Paris, 1913, I, p. 456.

de notes (bémols, doubles bémols, etc.), étrangers à la gamme de ré: il n'en reste pas moins, d'après l'armure, dans le ton de ré \sharp . De même, les compositeurs de la Renaissance croyaient rester en dorien, en phrygien, etc., alors qu'ils employaient des sons étrangers à ces diverses échelles.

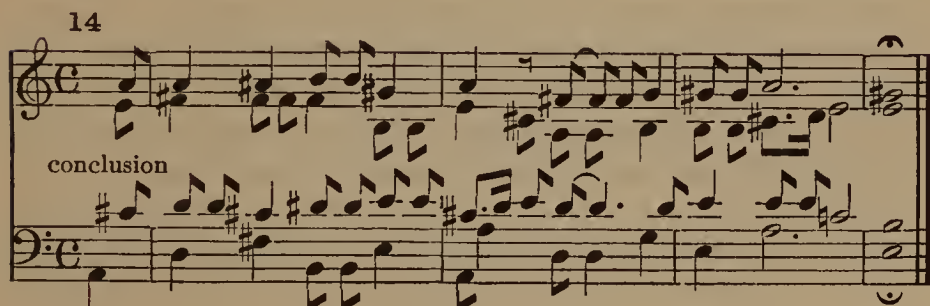
Such practices, as far as constructively advancing the cause of tonality is concerned, overshot the mark; their influence consisted primarily in clearing away the encumbrances and prejudices to tonality entailed in old restricted modal habits and conceptions. Examples are to be found in what Riemann terms "das neue Madrigal," and elsewhere as well. A *Hymn* of Lasso (Ex. 14) illustrates what is happening to the conventional modal system, and shows also a striking sense for chords and chord relations as exhibited in chains of chords, paired off in the V-I relation, carried through in the midst of shifting chromaticism. The bearing of such material on the question of modulation is treated by Riemann.²⁷

Hymn

PHRYGIAN

LESSO²⁸

†1594



THE HOMOPHONY OF POPULAR MUSIC

APPROXIMATELY THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It is evident that the learned polyphony of the sixteenth century, even in its simplest state and in the final and

²⁷ H. Riemann, *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1907, II, Teil 1, pp. 375-381.

²⁸ Riemann, *Musikgesch. in Beisp.*, p. 86.

harmonically clarified stage of its development, exhibits no more than the rudiments of the tonal idea. Such practices of pure polyphony as the modern ear is inclined to associate with tonality were mainly incidental to a style which as a whole could do very well without an organized tonal scheme; their interest lies chiefly in their association with the amplified tonal system. The full fructification of the tonal idea can take place only in connection with a medium fully sensitive to its disposition, namely, the homophonic style: it is to popular music that one must turn for conditions suitable to the dissemination of the tonal principle.

It would be interesting to attempt to trace tonal clues in popular music back of the early years of the sixteenth century, in so far as material is available. Riemann²⁹ observes that harmonized versions of popular melodies in the fifteenth century exhibit a simplified variety of polyphony uncontaminated by the abstruse devices of contemporary polyphonic art. Especially when in the major mode they indicate a degree of chord interest at least equal to that of the learned polyphony a century later. It would also be interesting to speculate about the tonal possibilities of experiments which the fifteenth-century musician may have made in keyboard improvisation. The earliest known written-down organ music is conceivably not an adequate representative of them in this particular.

But it is not improbable that one has struck pretty close to the sources of tonal development in certain popular music published in the early sixteenth century, sufficient quantity of which exists to make generalizations reasonable. For even then tonal evidences are scarce and indecisive. Probably also a somewhat earlier period is actually represented in such music, since it has been preserved in collections the individual works of which, it may be presumed, often antedate considerably the known year of

²⁹ H. Riemann, *Catechism of Musical History*, London, 1892, II, pp. 45-46.

publication of the collection. It is also more than chance that apparently the first outcroppings of tonal method, in a field furnishing conditions most favorable for its growth, should appear simultaneously with the spread of harmonic propriety in the tonally uncongenial polyphonic style, and that the unfolding of tonality, which is hostile to the old modal system, should take place contemporaneously with various chromatic experiments, which are likewise subversive of the older modal order.

A further help in locating the beginnings of tonal development is found in the appearance in lute music of the early sixteenth century of the first certain manifestations of the pure homophonic principle. The histories dwell sufficiently upon the fact that the lute is by nature a homophonic instrument and that its influence on style at this juncture is therefore paramount. Its service to tonality is hence equally fundamental. This lute music lends itself particularly to an investigation of tonal characteristics because of the reliability of its figure-tablature notation as regards accidentals,—a matter of especial concern when the minor mode is under consideration.

Not only is much of the earliest known lute music to all intents homophonic, thus by its very nature opening the way first for tonal development within its territory, but the prevalent types of pieces, arranged or written for the lute, are frequently types possessing the quality of decisive rhythm. The importance to early tonality of the homophonic style *plus* rhythm is emphasized by contrast in the fact that the early operatic monodies, though in their very origin homophonic, fail nevertheless of being as tonal as lute music at least a half century earlier, this undoubtedly traceable in part to their amorphous rhythmic nature.

A considerable portion of sixteenth-century lute music, transcriptions of vocal polyphony left out of account, consists of dance tunes, generally adaptations of dance songs, unpretentiously harmonized in the lute style. The

special relation of these early dances to the question of tonality lies in the fact that, in addition to rhythmic vitality, the dance character generally makes for clear planning of form. This is accomplished in the dance by sectionality. A sectional scheme implies frequent cadences the intelligibility of which in harmonic music rests on their consistency *in relation to one another*. Not only then is the already worked out tonal cadence present with frequency, it is put to use as a basic part of the architectural plan. Systematically spaced cadences, each consisting of several tonally related chords, constitute by virtue of their constructive usefulness an appreciable proportion of the whole in dance material, thus causing primary chords to be thrown into relief, and effecting, as Riemann has pointed out, the diffusion of the cadence chord logic.

Not the major mode, nor the mere presence of regular meter and sectionality, nor homophony alone, in themselves insist on tonality. Rhythmic homophony without tonality is not infrequent in lute dances of the first half of the sixteenth century, though it is an elementary homophony, structurally considered. These factors, and in addition a realization of the need of unified but contrasted cadence points and logical chord successions for gaining these points convincingly *in order that the larger rhythmic plan of the utterance as a whole may be clearly asserted and fully intelligible*, are the complete circumstances underlying the working out of the tonal idea. Experimentation with cadences must have made it evident that a harmonically well-judged arrival at a given *chordal point* and arrival at a significant *rhythmic moment* must coincide, if clarity of monophonic form is to be furthered. Distinct rhythmic design is thus assured only through the relating of its periods by logical chord dispositions; reciprocally the significance of chordal punctuation is in considerable measure derived from its rhythmic location. These things are of peculiar moment, broadly speaking, only in the homophonic or quasi-homophonic style.

The fact that the early growth of the tonal principle is coupled with the inception of independent instrumental music is not at all a coincidence. Helmholtz³⁰ observes that, "The necessity for a steady connection of masses of tone by purely musical relations, does not dawn distinctly on our feeling, until we have to form into one artistic whole large masses of tone, which have their own independent significance without the cement of poetry." The need of self-sustaining cumulative design becomes pressing with the advent of independent instrumental homophony.

The indispensability of constructive chord movement as an agent in rational homophonic architecture largely accounts therefore for the development of the tonal phenomenon which took place first and in most conspicuous form in sixteenth-century popular homophony, irregularly manifested in the first half of the century, increasingly emphasized during the second half, and actually completed in the major mode considerably before the middle of the seventeenth century.

As a point of departure in tracing the early progress of tonal expansion in popular music,³¹ and in contrast to material which exhibits the genuine nascent tonal sense, Ex. 15 is presented as probably typical of the harmonic aspect of dances in the old modes in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Its characteristics are evident well into the second third of the sixteenth century, in diminishing quantity from the middle of the century, rare in the last third. The type gradually loses ground in proportion as the major and Aeolian-minor modes gain the field.

³⁰ Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, p. 243.

³¹ The musical sources on which the following discussion is based are for the most part lute dances; but when of similar character, other tablatured music has occasionally been drawn upon for evidence. For bibliographies of the most important sixteenth-century tablatured music and modern reprints, see Combarieu, *Hist. de la mus.*, I, ch. XXX; for lute music specifically, *ibid.*, pp. 582-583.

Ain Spaniyelischer hoff Dantz

DORIAN

HANS JUDENKÜNIC³²*Ain schone kunstliche vnderweisung*
1523

15

A sign of the gradual undermining process to which the old modes are succumbing, especially in popular music, is seen not only in the lessening frequency of the old pure modal characteristics, but also in the appearance of impure modal usages. The limitations of the church modes are evidently unsatisfactory, but for over half a century the transition is incomplete and the grasp of the tonal idea in popular music is not strong enough to substitute definitely the tonal modes for the fully exploited church modes. Considerable impurity of mode extends even to the major until the second half of the sixteenth century,

³² A. Koczirz, "Österreichische Lautenmusik im XVI. Jahrhundert," *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXVII, Wien, 1911, p. 14.

and occasional traces remain until the close. The partially tonal Aeolian-minor has not wholly cleared itself of admixture with traits of other modes even by the latter part of the century.

The process of tonal infiltration is immediately penetrative enough, however, so that in early sixteenth-century dances a guiding chord is consciously acknowledged in a majority of instances, whatever the state of modality, but particularly in the case of the major mode. The same chord is used for beginning and ending, frequently to conclude sections, and at times is, evidently with intention, repeatedly touched upon, though the chord progressions themselves are in the main vague. In the contemporary polyphony even this slight deference to tonic is comparatively uncommon, and then chiefly in the simpler polyphonic style. Such tonic allegiance is undoubtedly purposed sometimes even in the old scales, though there is little conception of means for getting it. Nor is it impossible to force an impression of slight tonic focus by means of the chords of a non-tonal mode, making the security of the tonic as positive as the limitations of the mode permit. This is possible by rhythmic planning of the moments of tonic, and by use of chords loosely analogous to the primary chords of a tonal mode. (Ex. 16.)

Canzon Neapolitana

In sole do

AEOLIAN

Lautenbuch des

OCTAVIANUS S. FUGGER³³

1562

16



³³ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

In the course of the sixteenth century, gradually superseding the old modal and impure modal dances, there appears in increasing quantity the dance in the major mode. In the early years of the century the major is scarcely more frequent in dances than in the contrapuntal piece and is decidedly outnumbered by other modes. From the middle of the century it gains notably in frequency, until by the end of the century it is predominant.

At the outset, as is to be expected, the cadence in major is complete and clear. It is interesting to observe that the six-four elaboration of the authentic cadence finds practically no place in the sixteenth-century dance: it is originally the property of polyphony, fundamentally a melodic device (Ex. 8), and is not practised in early homophony, where apparently only the most incisive and direct cadencing is wanted.

As is the case with the other modes, the major is not used with consistent purity in the sixteenth century and hence complete tonal conviction is not always possible. The chief impurity, aside from a fondness in certain Spanish lute music for random chromatics, results from a failure to realize the damage to tonal clarity occasioned by a major chord on the minor seventh of the scale (VII^{\flat})—a perpetuation of Mixolydian quality. The leading tone is cancelled thereby and no amount of dominant can at once restore the tonal equilibrium. This VII^{\flat} is more or less common until the latter sixteenth century, and in consequence vii° with its tonal import is comparatively rare. Ex. 17 shows a late instance of VII^{\flat} in dance music and illustrates the tonal disturbance caused. Notwithstanding this and other exceptions, the major is the most consistently pure mode in sixteenth-century popular music.

Canario

ein alter Tanz

MAJOR
(MIXOLYDIAN?)CESARE NEGRI³⁴
Nuove Inventioni di Balli
1604

Despite transient impurities, the major mode in dances exhibits from the beginning of the sixteenth century its predilection for tonal treatment. Even when vaguely handled, primary chords are early held in a certain regard not observable in contemporary music of other types. In occasional cases there is enough sensing of the effect of primary chords to exclude all others. (Ex. 18.) The force with which primary chord material is inherently invested in rhythmic music renders these cases strikingly tonal for the period. Similar instances of exclusive use of primary chords in the familiar style are much less suggestive because of the absence of clear rhythmic purpose.

But even where primary chords predominate in quantity there is in the first half of the sixteenth century a good deal of loose progression and aimless alternation, which fail to bring out the constructive power of the primary material. (Ex. 19.) The middle of the century appears to be the approximate turning point in the direction of clearer planning of primary progressions in reference to rhythm: primary chords then begin to outweigh all other material.

³⁴ W. Tappert, *Sang und Klang*, Berlin, 1906, p. 59.

Gassenhawer

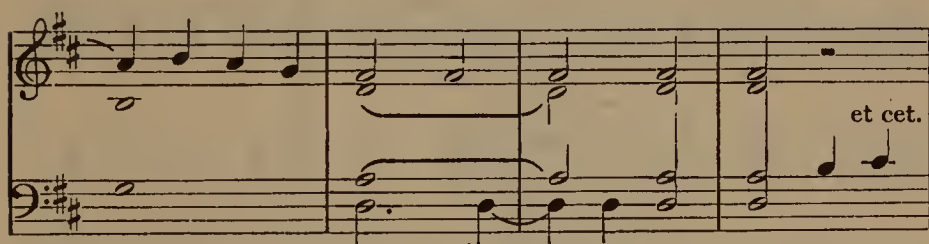
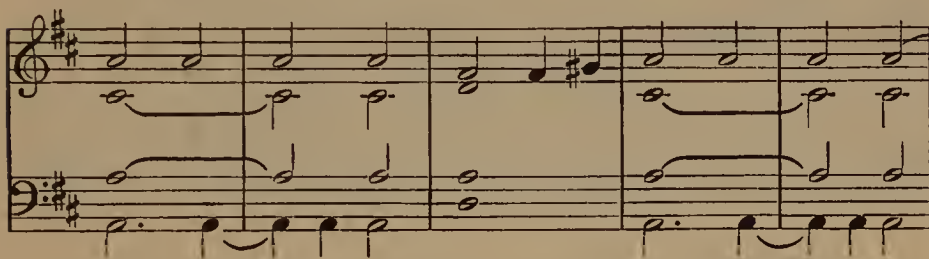
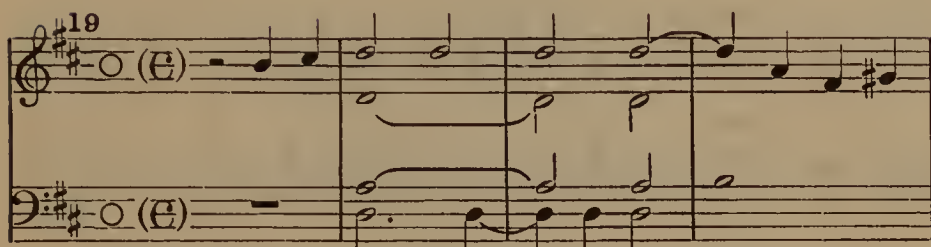
MAJOR

HANS JUDENKÜNIG³⁵*Ain schone kunstliche vnderweisung*
1523

18

et cet.

³⁵ Koczirz, "österreich. Lautenmusik . . .," *Denkm. d. Tonkunst in Österreich*, XXXVII, p. 35.

*Der hoff Dantz*MAJOR
(LYDIAN?)HANS JUDENKÜNIC³⁶
Ain schone kunstliche vnderweisung
1523

During the first half of the sixteenth century secondary chords appear in noticeable quantity and, to put it negatively, in such locations as at least do not enhance the tonal force of the primary material. (Ex. 20.)

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Den VI. Ronde

MAJOR

TIELMAN SUSATO³⁷*Het derde musyck boexken*

Antwerp 1551

(Printed in parts for four instruments)

20

The musical score is written for four instruments in two parts (treble and bass clef). It is in G major (one sharp) and 2/4 time. The piece consists of four systems of two staves each. The first system is marked with a '20' above the treble staff. The second system continues the melody. The third system includes a repeat sign and a first ending. The fourth system also includes a repeat sign and a first ending. The piece concludes with a final cadence.

³⁷ R. Eitner, "Taenze des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts," *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, Berlin, 1875, Jahrgang VII, Beilage, p. 91.

Signs of a gradually changing conception of their function are evident after the middle of the sixteenth century in a more sparing employment of them. No particular skill in handling them is as yet exhibited, but the impairing effect of their casual use on the tonal clearness of primary chords is at least partially appreciated and minimized through a reduction of their prominence. Later treatment usually shows a tendency to make them wholly incidental to primary chords. (Ex. 21.) Primary and secondary materials are not regularly used in full co-operation and in sensitive adjustment to accent until the early seventeenth century.

Gagliarda

MAJOR

J. B. BESARDE³⁸
1617

21

et cet.

³⁸ O. Chilesotti, *Lautenspieler des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1891, p. 224.

The modern tonal minor mode is somewhat later than the major in achieving its character and in disclosing its harmonic qualities, and did not displace the semi-tonal Aeolian-minor until the seventeenth century. The minor is tonally a considerably less stable mode than the major, and in its modern form actually did not exist, as did the major, among the modes recognized in the sixteenth century. It is not therefore a matter for surprise that in pure harmonic form and hence clear tonal treatment it responds to the tonal impulse less promptly than the major. Its weaker tonal constitution and its instability are demonstrated by Helmholtz.³⁹ One of the evidences of the tonal instability of the minor mode in actual practice is seen in its propensity to shift easily to the relative major (Ex. 22), and in the tendency of composers of the sixteenth century to vacillate between the two modes. The minor mode is only held by the exertion of a special tonal concentration which was not easily acquired, and which was perhaps ultimately achieved, as it were, on the basis of the precedent of tonal clearness exhibited in the major. The apparent tendency of the minor mode to shift too readily to major is not necessarily an illusion based on the frequent use of VII^b, that is, a use of the Aeolian form of the mode. Genuine modulation sometimes takes place and with the appearance of V-I of the relative major the whole center of gravity is shifted away from the original minor tonic, and often swings back only with the arrival of the V-I of the minor cadence. (Ex. 22.)

The minor mode in sixteenth-century dance music is much less pure than the major and the impurities clear away with greater reluctance. Even the complete tonal cadence is slow to take shape; its inconstant form indicates the prevalent indecision in minor usage. Somewhat before the middle of the century the pure modes of minor effect begin to be supplanted by the Aeolian-minor with its occasional major dominant. But mingled with it qualities of two foreign modes are in common evidence. The

³⁹ Helmholtz, *On the Sensations of Tone*, pp. 300-301.

Der Prinzen-Tanz

MINOR-MAJOR

WYSSENBACH'S *Lautenbuch*⁴⁰
1550

22

et cet.

Aeolian-minor is not infrequently tinged with Dorian quality through the introduction of a major subdominant; traces of Dorian influence especially in cadence are not difficult to find, in polyphonic music for the most part, as late as Bach. Similarly an Ionian impression is produced by the conventional conclusion with a major tonic, particularly if a major subdominant accompanies; and the minor and individual tonal stamp of the mode is further diluted. These chords in cadence, in contrast to the minor tonic and subdominant in pre-cadence passages, produce an effect of tonal contradiction prejudicial to the ready development of clear tonal feeling in minor. (Ex. 23.)

⁴⁰ Tappert, *Sang und Klang*, p. 54.

Der Keyserin Tanz

Nachtanz

AEOLIAN-MINOR

JACOB PAIX⁴¹
Orgel Tabulaturbuch
 Laugingen, 1583

23

1 2 a?

et cet.

⁴¹ Eitner, "Taenze . . .," *Monatsh. f. Musikgesch.*, Jahrg. VII, Beilage, p. 116.

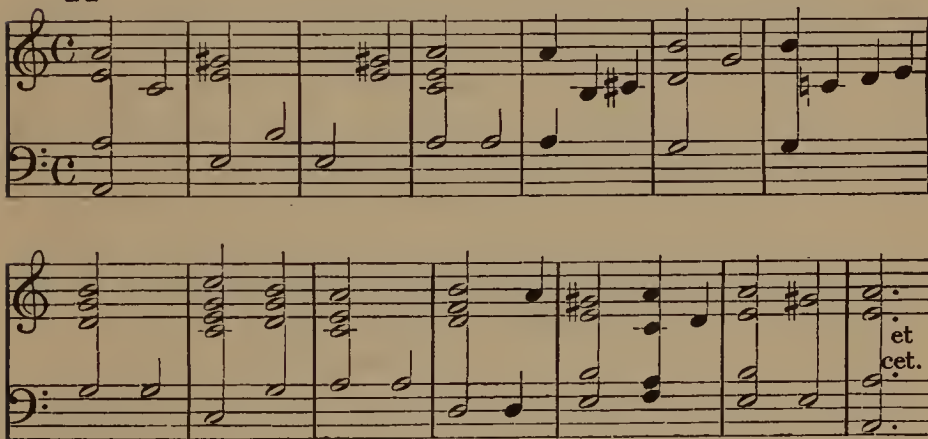
The most fundamental evidence that a tonal conception of the minor mode is wanting is the absence till about the last quarter of the sixteenth century of a consistent use of the major dominant chord. Only infrequently is V introduced for its own sake. It appears in cadences to be sure, but when used at other points it is generally easy to trace the reason for it to a melodic, not a harmonic source. Occasionally shortly before a cadential dominant the major V occurs as if induced by the major dominant in the cadence. At the beginning of phrases also, a certain sense of the function of V is occasionally shown; but the Aeolian form of the mode soon intrudes. (Ex. 24.)

Pavana

AEOLIAN-MINOR

ALONSO MUDARRA⁴²
1546

24



Consistent use of the major dominant is the outstanding mark of a conscious tonal minor; and it is not until toward the middle of the seventeenth century that this condition is generally fulfilled. Apparently for the purpose of modal contrast the semi-tonal Aeolian-minor is for a time sufficient, and the modern tonal minor is only fully

⁴² G. Morphy, *Les Luthistes espagnols du XVI^e siècle*, Leipzig, 1902, II, p. 100.

developed when there is realization of the need of it for constructional purposes. Its tonally defined form is called forth for the place it must fill in design through key association, to make fully available in minor key relations a structural resource already in use for three-quarters of a century in the case of the major.

Reference has been made to the fact that coöperation of chord movement in the laying down of structural outlines is a significant phase of the development of tonality; the employment of a constant chord as initial and final, and occasional other recognition of it even in the old modal dance, have also been noted. The habitual point of arrival in planning the chord progress of a phrase comes to be the tonic, even though the chord movement itself is not always thoroughly tonal. Thus in "Ein guter welscher tanz" from Newsidler's⁴³ "Ein newgeordnet künstlich Lautenbuch" (1536), in which the progressions are not particularly forceful because of the intrusion of considerable VII^b, seven of ten phrases close with the tonic chord. Within the phrases the tonic chord also appears. This dance is not unique at the time. The harmonic and structural unity which such adherence to a tonic gives must have been clearly felt. Monotony and squareness of plan result from so persistent a use of the tonic chord in punctuation: less rigid means of taking advantage of its unifying force are of course ultimately found.

In this same dance, of the remaining three phrases, two close with the subdominant and one with the dominant chord. In general the common landing point other than the tonic is the dominant chord, true probably even earlier than the sixteenth century. In the tonally imperfect Aeolian-minor mode also, the major V shares place with the tonic as a chordal punctuation point.

The fact of various periodically located chordal arrival points is practically inevitable in harmonic dance music and is a rudimentary enough condition in itself. Not until

⁴³ Koczirz, "Österr. Lautenmusik . . .," *Denkm. d. Tonkunst in Österr.* XXXVII, p. 37.

cadence points are planned in reference to one another so as to secure suitable contrast and balance and cumulative effect as well as simply unity have they been put to important use. Intelligent planning is not infrequently in evidence by the last quarter of the sixteenth century. Examples 25 and 26 are illustrative of the periodic dance whose clear structural execution is made possible by tonal harmonic treatment of the punctuation.

Tanz

Das Kätherlein von Dornig

MAJOR

Aus dem handschriftlichen
Lautenbuche des Grafen
Hans Wilczek in Wien⁴⁴

1590

25

The musical score for Example 25 is written in G major (one sharp) and common time (C). It consists of three systems of two staves each. The first system contains four measures, the second contains three measures, and the third contains three measures. The treble staff features a melody with eighth and sixteenth notes, while the bass staff provides a harmonic accompaniment with half notes. Each system concludes with a repeat sign.

⁴⁴ Tappert, *Sang und Klang*, p. 48.

Tanz

“Was woll’n wir auf den Abend thun”

MAJOR

Aus dem handschriftlichen
Lautenbuche des Grafen
Hans Wilczek in Wien⁴⁵
1590

26

The effective planning of arrival points, whether within a given key or ranging without it, implies a contriving to reach these points. Arrivals in simple tonal idiom are convincing only if approached with clear harmonic prediction. So tonality in its broad function begins

⁴⁵ Tappert, *Sang und Klang*, p. 47.

to come into its own when there appear in the internal construction of the individual phrase indications of the correlation of harmonic progression with the general plan for the relation of the several phrases. That is, the relations of the chords within the phrase are raised to complete significance when on them rests a measure of the intelligibility of the broader set of relations involved in the phrase architecture: in harmonic music, the rhythmic phrase plan and the nature of the harmonic relations embodied in the phrases, are reciprocal forces.

The entire question of modulation, symptoms of which arise simultaneously with those of the unfolding tonal system, is too involved a topic for the scope of this chapter, relevant as it would be to the broader considerations of tonal influence. Brief reference to modulation as practised in the sixteenth-century dance is called for, however, as a part of an account of the development of tonality in early dance music.

Ability to define a single key through chord progression is in time expanded to embrace the exposition and association of different keys. But much in early sixteenth-century dance music which suggests modulation is probably nothing more than a perpetuation of the influence of *musica ficta*, applied for chiefly melodic ends. For a considerable time, perhaps even as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, cases of the sort are so uncertain as merely to suggest key impressions at the very cadence point only, and to imply no definitely worked out plan for the structural use of modulation.

Wholly convincing modulation is of course impossible until a certain degree of tonal consciousness has evolved. Well-defined cases begin to appear when there is obvious preparation for arrival in the new key somewhat back of the cadence in it. Ex. 27 shows a fairly early case.

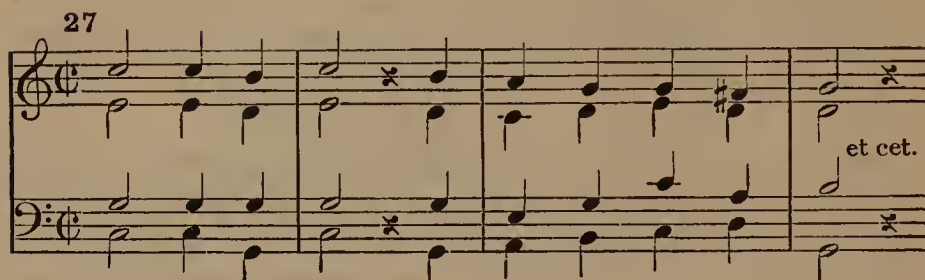
Alemannde nouvelle

Ein guter neuer Dantz

MAJOR

Das Ander Buch

Ein Neuen Tabulatur auff
Orgeln und Instrumenten etc.⁴⁶
1577



The perfectly clear transposition of a passage bodily to a new key location is also evidence that the composer was fully aware of the fact of key definition. Ex. 28 gives such an instance.

Deutscher Tanz

MAJOR

WAISSSEL'S *Tabulaturbuch*⁴⁷
1592

28

⁴⁶ Tappert, *Sang und Klang*, p. 42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 51.

Such material is found in influential quantity only by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, that is, at a time of general evidences of increasing tonal clarity. Modulations to the dominant from the major are the prevailing kind, with also a noticeable number to the relative minor. From the minor the direction taken is predominantly that of the relative major. Certain less close modulations both from major and minor are occasionally to be found, especially in Spanish lute music.

When key modulation, dependent as it is on tonality, has been evoked to assist in shaping the architecture of the piece, a state of considerable structural subtlety has been reached, and the tonal consciousness may be counted as a firmly established influence in musical thinking.

The full implication of the symptoms of tonality as found in simple dance types for the lute is revealed only when comparison is made with contemporaneous music of other sorts. With overwhelming certainty foretokens of tonality make their appearance in popular homophony first—and it has been taken, therefore, as the most valuable representation of sixteenth-century tonal achievement—though without great delay they are manifest in all orders of music. Not until the middle of the seventeenth century is any quantity of thoroughly polyphonic music persistently tonal in intention. In the simplified polyphony, and in such pioneer harmonic polyphony as is seen for instance in some of Morley's work, the tonal idea introduces itself earliest, but always in arrear of similar practices in popular music. The modal tinge is apparent in polyphony even as late as Bach, evidence of the comparative resistance of polyphonic procedure to the appreciable degree of melodic confinement involved in subservience to tonal law.

A comparison of the idiom of the new dramatic homophony in the first twenty years of the seventeenth century with that of contemporaneous popular homophony may be expected to throw into even more striking light the

tonal advancement of the latter, than does comparison with polyphony of the time. The opera monodies, sometimes loosely reckoned as the first important manifestation of the homophonic principle, in view of dance music for the lute of a third of a century earlier, are vague and monotonous, wander in mode more than most mid-sixteenth-century dance music, and really belong to the modal experimental stage. Their indeterminate tonal nature is due to the special exigencies of the dramatic style as conceived by its inventors, a style which in its infancy unconsciously placed flexibility before lucidity and coherence of homophonic design. Again it is suggested that tonality is called forth in full capacity only when the structural demands of the homophonic style are pressing.

Of the steps taken toward clearness and centralization of chord movement, then, the first was that of learning to cadence conclusively. Polyphony in the old modes saw the acceptance of the authentic cadence. The logic of the cadence, constituted of primary chords, permeated the phrase, more so the more frequent the cadence, and in the homophonic style which needed chord logic for a fully intelligible idiom, resulted in ability to emphasize a given tonic through the instrumentality of primary chords, a characteristic later transmitted to and assimilated by the polyphonic style. This ability to hold key was on the one hand an ability to think in terms of closely related chords, on the other an ability to resist wandering tendencies incident to the breaking down of the old modal system. Ability merely to hold key was enlarged into ability to gain variety of chord and progression through subordinated use of secondary material, without interference with key definition. That is, eventually not only clear tonality was attained, but artistically varied and expressive tonality. Considerably before full authority in key definition was acquired, successful experiments were made in shifting the allegiance of the chord movement

from the original to a subordinate center. With complete control over a single key, there quickly followed skill in passing from key to key, occasioned by the employment of key change as the basis for the larger tonal plan. The key architecture of modern music has then been achieved, and tonality, both as a system of chord logic within a key and as a power for grouping thematic excursions about a key center of gravity, has been accorded its place as one of the basic principles of modern musical thought. The middle of the seventeenth century witnessed the essentials of this structural foundation of modern music already soundly erected, the preparations for which had been going on for over a century and a half. The subtle but increasingly firm grasp gained by the logic of tonal law serves thus as a peculiarly significant and valuable technical index to the growth of the modern spirit in the music of this transition period.

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Q 15 '36	FE 3 '67		
3 18 '37	FE 11 '67		
SEP 25	FE 5 '68		
	MR 15 '69		
F 8 - '40	THREE DAY		
	JA 16 '70		
NOV 10 '41	JA 22 '70		
Oct 18 '43	MR 5 '70		
Mar 1 44	RECEIVE		
JUN 22 '44			
SEP 23 1944			
NOV 28 '61			



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